



THE
Second Volume
OF
PLUTARCH'S
LIVES.

Translated from the Greek,
BY
SEVERAL HANDS.

The Second Edition.

L O N D O N,

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*A Chronological Table to the Second Volume
of Plutarch's Lives.*

	The Julian Period.	Before the Coming of Christ.	After the Worlds Creation.	After the building of Rome.	The Year of the Olympiad.	The Olympiad.
<i>Alcibiades.</i>	90	3	1335	3532	416	4296
<i>C. M. Coriolanus his Banishment.</i>	73	2	266	3463	485	4227
<i>Timoleon.</i>	108	4	1408	3605	343	4369
<i>Paulus Æmil. over- came K. Perseus.</i>	152	3	583	3780	168	4544
<i>Pelopidas the Bat- tel at Leuctrum.</i>	102	3	383	3580	368	4344
<i>Marcellus took Sy- racuse.</i>	142	2	542	3739	209	4503
<i>Aristides.</i>	72	1	261	3458	490	4222
<i>Marcus Cato.</i>	144	2	550	3747	201	4511
<i>Philopæmen.</i>	147	3	563	3760	188	4524
<i>T. Quintius Flami- nius Consul.</i>	145	3	555	3752	196	4516

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ALCIBIADES.



McBurgers
sculp.

See with what joy the Exile is restor'd,
So Hated once, and now so much ador'd;
His fortune various, & not less his mind,
Where every vice with every virtue join'd.
Nothing seem'd hard to his courage, will, or pride,
Success still following as he chang'd his side.

THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES.

Translated from the Greek.

Volume II.

Alcibiades, as it is suppos'd, was anciently descended from *Euryfaces*, the Son of *Ajax*, by his Fathers side, and by his Mothers side from *Alcmeon*, for *Dinomache*, his Mother, was the Daughter of *Meagles*. His Father *Clinias*, having fitted out a Gally at his own expence, gained great Honour in a Sea-fight near *Artimifium*, and was afterwards slain in the Battel of *Coronea*, fighting

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fighting against the *Bæotians*. *Pericles* and *Ariphron*, the Sons of *Xantippus*, being nearly related to *Alcibiades*, were his Guardians. 'Tis said, and not untruly, that the Kindness and Friendship which *Socrates* shewed to him, did very much contribute to his Fame. Hence it is, that tho' we have not an account from any Writer, who was the Mother of *Nicias* or *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus* or *Phormio*, of *Thrasybulus* or *Theramenes*, notwithstanding they were all of them illustrious Persons, and of the same Age; yet we know even the Nurse of *Alcibiades*, that her Countrey was *Lacedæmon*, and her Name, *Amyclas*; and that *Zopyrus* was his Schoolmaster; the one being recorded by *Antisthenes*, and the other by *Plato*.

His Beauty. It is not perhaps material to say any thing of the Beauty of *Alcibiades*, only that it lasted with him in all the Ages of his Life, in his Infancy, in his Youth, and in his Manhood; and thereby rendred him lovely and agreeable to every one. For it is not universal what *Euripides* saith, that,

Of all Fair things the Autumn is most Fair.

But this happened to *Alcibiades*, amongst few others, by reason of his happy Composition, and the natural Vigor of his Body. It is

is said, that his Lisper, when he spoke, became him well, and gave a Grace to his Pronunciation. *Aristophanes* takes notice, that he lisped in those Verses wherein he jeers *Theorus*, because *Alcibiades*, speaking of him, instead of *κλέει* pronounced *κλάει*, and so called him Flatterer unawares to himself. From whence the Poet takes occasion to observe,

How very luckily he lisp'd the Truth.

Archippus also makes mention of it, thus reflecting upon the Son of *Alcibiades*:

*His Father he will imitate in all;
Like one dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury,
His long loose Robe he seems to draw with pain,
Carelessly leans his Head, and in his Talk
Affects to lisp.*

His Manners were very different, nor is it strange that they varied according to the many and wonderful Vicissitudes of his Fortune.

He was naturally subject to great Passions, but the most prevailing of all was his Ambition, and Desire to be esteem'd the first: which appear'd by several memorable Things spoken by him whilst he was a Child. Once being hard press'd in Wrestling, and fearing

to be thrown, he got the Hand of the Person who strove with him to his Mouth, and bit it with all his force; his Adversary loos'd his hold presently, and said, *Thou bitest, Alcibiades, like a Woman*. No, replied he, *I bite like a Lion*. Another time as he play'd at Cockal in the Street, being then but a Boy, a loaded Cart came that way, when it was his Turn to throw; at first he requir'd the Driver to stay, because he was to cast in the way over which the Cart was to pass; but the rude Fellow did not hearken to him, and driving on still, when the rest of the Boys divided and gave way, *Alcibiades* threw himself on his Face before the Cart, and stretching himself out, bid the Carter drive on, if he would: This so startled the Man, that he put back his Horses, while all that saw it were terrified, and crying out, ran to assist *Alcibiades*. When he began to study, he obeyed all his other Masters with great Respect, but refused to learn upon the Flute, as a sordid thing, and not becoming a Gentle man; for he would say, To play on the Lute or the Harp, does not disorder the Posture of a man's Body, or the Air of his Face; but one is hardly to be known by his most intimate Friends, when he plays on the Flute. Besides he who plays on the Harp, may discourse or sing at the same time; but the use of the Flute does so con-

He refuses
to learn to
play on the
Flute.

trad

tract the Mouth, that the Voice is intercepted, and all Speech taken away. Therefore said he, let the *Theban* Youths pipe, because they know not how to discourse; but we *Athenians*, (as our Ancestors have told us,) have *Minerva* for our Patroness, and *Apollo* for our Protector, one of which threw away the Flute, and the other stripp'd off his Skin who play'd upon it. Thus between Raillery and good Earnest, *Alcibiades* not only kept himself but others from learning upon that Instrument; for it presently became the Talk of the young Gentlemen, that *Alcibiades* with good Reason despis'd the Art of playing on the Flute, and ridicul'd those who studied it. Whereupon it quickly ceas'd to be reckon'd amongst the Liberal Arts, and became universally exploded.

It is reported in the Invective which *Antiphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, That once when he was a Boy, he fled to the House of *Democrates*, one of his Lovers, and that *Antiphon* had determin'd to cause Proclamation to be made for him, had not *Pericles* diverted him from it, by saying, That if he were dead, the Proclaiming of him could only cause it to be discover'd one day sooner, and if he were safe, it would be a Reproach to him whilst he liv'd. *Antiphon* does also say, That in the publick Place of Exercises in *Sy-burtius*, he slew one of his own Servants with

the blow of a Staff. But it may be unreasonable to give Credit to all that is objected by an Enemy, who makes profession of his Design to defame him.

The ground
of Socrates's
love
to Alcibiades.

It was manifest, that the many Persons of Quality who were continually waiting upon him, and making their Court to him, were surpriz'd and captivated by his extraordinary Beauty only. But the Affection which *Socrates* express'd for *Alcibiades*, was a great Evidence of his Vertue and good Disposition, which *Socrates* perceiv'd to appear and shine through the Beauty of his Person; and fearing, lest his Wealth and Quality, and the great Number both of Strangers and *Athenians*, who flatter'd and caress'd him, might at last corrupt him, he therefore resolv'd to interpose, and take care to preserve so hopeful a Plant from perishing in the Flower, and before its Fruit came to perfection. For never did Fortune surround and enclose a Man with so many of those things which we vulgarly call Goods, whereby to keep him from being touch'd or approach'd, by the free and clear Reasonings of Philosophy, as she did *Alcibiades*: who from the beginning was softned by the Flatteries of those who convers'd with him, and hindred from hearkning to such as would advise or instruct him. Yet such was the happiness of his Genius, that he discern'd *Socrates* from the

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the rest, and admitted him, whilst he drove away the Wealthy and the Noble who made Court to him. And in a little time they grew into a Familiarity; *Alcibiades* observing that his Discourses aimed not at any effeminate Pleasures of Love, nor sought any thing wanton or dishonest, but laid open to him the Imperfections of his Mind, and repress'd his vain and foolish Arrogance.

Then like the Craven Cock he hung his Wings.

Esteeming these Endeavours of *Socrates*, as Means which the Gods made use of, for the Instruction and Preservation of Youth, so that he began to think meanly of himself, and to admire *Socrates*; to be pleas'd with his Kindness, and to stand in awe of his Vertue: and unawares to himself there was form'd in his Mind an Idea of Love, or rather of that mutual Affection whereof *Plato* speaks. Insomuch that all men wonder'd at *Alcibiades*, when they saw *Socrates* and him eat together, do their Exercises together, and lodge in the same Tent, whilst he was reserv'd and rough to all others who made their Addresses to him, and carried himself with great Insolence to some of them. As in particular to *Anytus* the Son of *Anthemion*, one who was very fond of him, and invited him to an Entertainment which he had prepared for some Strangers: *Alcibiades*

His Insolence to others.

biades refused the Invitation; but having drunk to excess at his own House with some of his Companions, he went thither to play some Frolick; and as he stood at the Door of the Room where the Guests were treated, and perceiv'd the Tables to be cover'd with Vessels of Gold and Silver, he commanded his Servants to take away the one half of them, and carry them to his own House; and then disdaining so much as to enter into the Room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The Company was extremely offended at the Action, and said He behav'd himself rudely and insolently towards *Anytus*: But *Anytus* made Answer, That he had us'd him kindly and with great Humanity, in that he left him part, when he might have taken all. He behav'd himself after the same sort to all others who courted him, except only one Stranger, who (as it is reported) having but a small Estate, sold it all for about a 100 Staters, which he presented to *Alcibiades*, and besought him to accept; *Alcibiades* smiling and well pleas'd at the thing, invited him to Supper, and after a very kind Entertainment, gave him his Gold again, withall requiring him, not to fail to be present the next day, when the publick Revenue was offer'd to Farm, and to out-bid all others. The Man would have excus'd himself, because the Farm was so great,

great, and would be lett for many Talents; but *Alcibiades*, who had at that time a private Picque against the old Farmers, threatned to have him beaten if he refus'd. The next morning the Stranger coming to the Market-place, offer'd a Talent more than the old Rent: The Farmers were enrag'd at him, and consulting together, call'd upon him to name such as would be Sureties for him, concluding that he could find none. The poor Man being startled at the Proposal, began to retire; but *Alcibiades*, standing at a distance, cryed out to the Magistrates, *Set my Name down, he is a Friend of mine, and I will undertake for him.* When the old Farmers heard this, they perceiv'd that all their Contrivance was defeated; for their way was, with the Profits of the present year, to pay the Rent of the year preceeding; So that not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the Difficulty, they began to entreat the Stranger, and offer'd him a Sum of Money. *Alcibiades* would not suffer him to accept of less than a Talent; but when that was paid down, he commanded him to relinquish the Bargain, having by this Device reliev'd his necessity.

Tho *Socrates* had many and powerful Rivals, yet he still prevail'd most with *Alcibiades*, by reason of the excellency of his natural Parts. His Discourses, master'd him

Alcibiades
addicted to
pleasure.

him to that degree, as not only to draw Tears from his Eyes, but to change his very Soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to Flatterers, when they propos'd to him varieties of Pleasure, and would desert *Socrates*; who then would pursue him, as if he had been a fugitive Slave. The truth is, *Alcibiades* despis'd all others, and did reverence and stand in awe of him alone. And therefore it was that *Cleanthes* said, He had given his Ears to *Socrates*, but to his Rivals, other Parts of his Body, with which *Socrates* would not meddle. For *Alcibiades* was certainly very much addicted to Pleasures, and that which *Thucydides* says, concerning his Excesses in his course of Living, gives occasion to believe so. But those who endeavour'd to corrupt *Alcibiades*, took advantage chiefly of his Vanity and Ambition, and thrust him on to undertake unseasonably great things, perswading him, that as soon as he began to concern himself in publick Affairs, he would not only obscure the rest of the Generals and Statesmen, but exceed the Authority and the Reputation which *Pentacles* himself had gain'd in Greece. But in the same manner as Iron which is softned by the Fire, grows hard with the Cold, and all its Parts are clos'd again; so as often as *Socrates* observ'd *Alcibiades* to be mislead by Luxury or Pride, he reduc'd and corrected him

him by his Discourses, and made him humble and modest, by shewing him, in how many things he was deficient, and how very far from perfection in Virtue.

When he was past his Childhood, he went once to a Grammar School, and ask'd the Master for one of *Homer's* Books; and he making Answer, that he had nothing of *Homers*, *Alcibiades* gave him a Blow with his Fist, and went away. Another School-master telling him, that he had *Homer* corrected by himself; *How*, said *Alcibiades*, and do you employ your time in teaching Children to read? You who are able to amend *Homer*, may well undertake to instruct Men. Being once desirous to speak with *Pentacles*, he went to his House, and was told there, that he was not at leisure, but busied in considering how to give up his Accompts to the *Athenians*; *Alcibiades* as he went away, said, It were better for him to consider how he might avoid giving up any Accompts at all.

Whilst he was very young, he was a Soldier in the Expedition against *Peridea*, where *Socrates* lodg'd in the same Tent with him, and seconded him in all Encounters. Once there happen'd a sharp skirmish, wherein they both behav'd themselves with much Bravery; but *Alcibiades* receiving a Wound there, *Socrates* threw himself before him to defend him, and most manifestly sav'd

His first Ap-
pearing in
Arms.

sav'd him and his Arms from the Enemy, and therefore in all Justice might have challeng'd the Prize of Valour. But the Generals appearing earnest to adjudge the Honour to *Alcibiades*, because of his Quality, *Socrates*, who desir'd to increase his Thirst after Glory, was the first who gave Evidence for him, and press'd them to Crown him, and to decree to him the compleat Suit of Armour. Afterwards in the Battel of *Delium*, when the *Athenians* were routed, and *Socrates* with a few others was retreating on Foot, *Alcibiades* who was on Horseback observing it, would not pass on, but stay'd to shelter him from the danger, and brought him safe off, tho' the Enemy press'd hard upon them, and cut off many of the Party. But this happened some time after.

He gave a Box on the Ear to *Hipponicus*, the Father of *Callias*, whose Birth and Wealth made him a Person of great Power and Esteem. And this he did unprovok'd by any Passion or Quarrel between them, but only because in a Frolick he had agreed with his Companions to do it. All men were justly offended at this Insolence, when it was known through the City: But early the next Morning *Alcibiades* went to his House, and knock'd at the Door, and being admitted to him, stripp'd off his Garment, and presenting his naked Body, desir'd him to beat

beat and chastize him as he pleas'd. Upon this *Hipponicus* forgot all his Resentment, and not only pardon'd him, but soon after gave him his Daughter *Hipparete* in Marriage. Some say, that it was not *Hipponicus*, but his Son *Callias*, who gave *Hipparete* to *Alcibiades*, together with a Portion of 10 Talents, and that after, when she had a Child, *Alcibiades* forc'd him to give 10 Talents more, upon pretence that such was the Agreement if she brought him any Children. And yet after, *Callias* for fear of being assassinated by him, in a full Assembly of the People did declare, that if he should happen to die without Children, *Alcibiades* should inherit his House and all his Goods. *Hipparete* was a vertuous Lady, and fond of her Husband; but at last growing impatient of the injuries done to her Marriage-bed, by his continual entertaining of Curtezans, as well Strangers as *Athenians*, she departed from him, and retir'd to her Brother's House. *Alcibiades* seem'd not at all concern'd at it, and liv'd on still in the same Luxury; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by Proxy, the Instrument whereby she sought a Divorce; when in obedience to the Law, she presented her self before him to perform this, *Alcibiades* came in, and took her away by force, and carried her home through the Market-place

His Marriage.

His Wife leaves him.

He takes her again by force.

place, no one all this while daring to oppose him, nor to take her from him. And she continu'd with him till her death, which happened not long after, when *Alcibiades* made his Voyage to *Ephesus*. Nor was this Violence to be thought very enormous or unmanly. For the Law, in making her who desires to be divorc'd, appear in publick, seems to design to give her Husband an opportunity of discoursing with her, and of endeavouring to retain her. *Alcibiades* had a Dog which cost him 70 Mina, and was a very great one, and very handsom; his Tail, which was his principal Ornament, he caus'd to be cut off, and his Acquaintance chiding him for it, and telling him, that all *Athens* was sorry for the Dog, and cried out upon him for this Action; he laugh'd, and said, *It is then come to pass as I desir'd, for I would have the Athenians entertain themselves with the Discourse of this, lest they should be talking something worse of me.*

The occasion
of his first
Appearance
in Publick.

It is said, that the first time he came into the Assembly, was upon occasion of a Large sum of Money which he made to the People. This was not done by Design, but as he pass'd along he heard a Shout, and enquiring the Cause, and having learn'd that there was a Donative made to the People, he went in amongst them, and gave Money also. The Multi-

Multitude thereupon applauding him, and shouting, he was so transported at it, that he got a Quail which he had under his Robe, and the Bird being frighted with noise, fled from him: Thereupon the People made louder Acclamations than before, and many of them rose up to pursue the Bird; but one *Antiochus*, a Pilot, caught it, and restor'd it to him, for which he was ever after very dear to *Alcibiades*.

He had great Advantages to introduce *Alcibiades* himself into the Management of Affairs: *eloquent.* His noble Birth, his Riches, the personal Courage he had shewn in divers Battles, and the multitude of his Friends and Dependents. But above all the rest, he chose to make himself Considerable to the People by his Eloquence: That he was a Master in the Art of Speaking, the Comick Poets bear him witness; and *Demosthenes*, the most eloquent of men, in his Oration against *Midias*, does allow, that *Alcibiades*, among other Perfections, was a most exact Orator. And if we give Credit to *Theophrastus*, who of all Philosophers was the most curious Enquirer, and the most faithful Relator, he says, that *Alcibiades* was very happy at inventing Things proper to be said upon the Occasion. Nor did he consider the Things only which ought to be said, but also what Words and what Expressions were to be us'd; and when those

those did accidentally occur, he would often pause in the middle of his Discourse for want of apt words, and would be silent and stop till he could recollect himself, and had considered what to say.

His Victories at the Olympick Games.

His Expenses in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the number of his Chariots, were very magnificent; for never any one besides himself, either private Person or King, sent seven Chariots to the Olympick Games. He carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth Prize, as *Thucydides* says, or the third, as *Euripides* relates it; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind. *Euripides* celebrates his success in this manner.

*Thee lovely Son of Clinias will I sing,
Thy Triumphs down to future Ages bring.
Then Pride of Greece! which never saw till now,
So many Crowns adorn one conquering Brow.
With how much ease the three-fold Prize he gains,
And smiles to see from far his Rivals Pains.
Their Chariots lagging on the distant Plains,
His Temples thrice the willing Judges crown,
And general Shouts do the just sentence Own.*

The Emulation which those who contended with him, expressed in the Presents which they made to him, rendred his Success the more illustrious. The *Ephesians* erected

erected a Tent for him adorned magnificently: The City of *Chios* furnished him with Provender for his Horses, and with great numbers of Beasts for Sacrifice. And the *Lesbians* sent him Wine and other Provisions, for the many great Entertainments which he made. Yet in the midst of all this, he escap'd not without Censure, occasion'd either by the Malice of his Enemies, or by his own ill Carriage. For 'tis said, that one *Diomedes*, an *Athenian*, a good man, and a Friend to *Alcibiades*, passionately desiring to obtain the Victory at the Olympick Games, and having heard much of a Chariot which belonged to the State at *Argos*, where he had observ'd that *Alcibiades* had great Power and many Friends, he prevail'd with him to undertake to buy the Chariot. *Alcibiades* did indeed buy it, but then claim'd it for his own, leaving *Diomedes* to rage at him, and to call upon the Gods and Men to bear witness of the injustice. There was a Suit at Law commenc'd upon this Occasion, and there is yet extant an Oration concerning a Chariot, written by *Isocrates* in Defence of *Alcibiades*, then a Youth. But there the Plaintiff in the Action is named *Tisias*, and not *Diomedes*.

As soon as he began to intermeddle in the Government, which was when he was

Nicias and Pheax his Rivals in the Persian War.

was very young, he quickly lessen'd the Credit of all who pretended to lead the People, except *Pheax* the Son of *Erasistratus*, and *Nicias* the Son of *Niceratus*, who alone durst contend with him. *Nicias* was arriv'd at the Age which is proper for War, and was esteem'd an excellent General; but *Pheax* was but beginning to grow in Reputation, (as *Alcibiades* was.) He was descended of noble Ancestors, but was inferior to *Alcibiades*, as in many other things, so principally in Eloquence. He could speak well, and had the Art of Perswading in private Conversation, but could not maintain a Debate before the People; that being true which *Eupolis* said of him, That he could talk well, but was not good at making Speeches. There is extant an Oration written against *Pheax* and *Alcibiades*, wherein, amongst other things, it is said, that *Alcibiades* made daily use at his Table of many gold and silver Vessels, which belong'd to the Common-wealth, as if they had been his own.

The Sentence of Ostracism pronounced against Hyperbolus.

There was one *Hyperbolus*, a Native of *Perithoide*, (of whom *Thucydides* makes mention, as of a very ill man) who furnish'd Matter to all the Writers of Comedy in that Age for their Satyrs. But he was unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of Glory, he was

was also insensible of Shame. There are some who call this Boldness and Courage, whereas it is indeed Impudence and Mad-ness. He was lik'd by no body, yet the People made frequent use of him, when they had a mind to disgrace or calumniate any Persons in Authority. At this time the People by his Perswasions were ready to proceed to pronounce the Sentence of ten years Banishment, which they call'd *Ostracism*. This was a way they made use of to lessen and drive out of the City such Citizens, as exceeded the rest in Credit and Power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear. And when at this time there was no doubt but that the *Ostracism* would fall upon one of those three, *Alcibiades* contriv'd to unite their several Factions, and communicating his Project with *Nicias*, he turn'd the Sentence upon *Hyperbolus* himself. Others say, that it was not with *Nicias* but *Pheax* that he consulted, and that by the help of his Party he procured the Banishment of *Hyperbolus* himself, when he suspected nothing less. For never any mean or obscure person fell under that Punishment before that time. Which gave occasion to *Plato* the Comick Poet, speaking of this *Hyperbolus*, to say that he was,

*Worthy to suffer what he did and more,
But not in such an honourable way:
The abject Wretch the Sentence did disgrace.*

But we have in another place given a fuller account of all that History has delivered down to us of this Matter.

Alcibiades
breaks the
Nician
Peace.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the Reputation which *Nicias* had gain'd amongst the Enemies of *Athens*, than at the Honours which the *Athenians* themselves paid to him. For tho' *Alcibiades* was the Person who did publicly receive the *Lacedæmonians* when they came to *Athens*, and took particular Care of such of them as were made Prisoners at the Fort of *Pylos*, yet after they had obtained the Peace and Restitution of the Captives by the Procurement of *Nicias*, they began to respect him above all others. And it was commonly said in *Greece*, that the War was begun by *Pericles*, and that *Nicias* made an end of it, and therefore as being his Work, this Peace was by most men called the *Nician* Peace. *Alcibiades* was extremely troubled at this, and being full of Envy, set himself to break the League. First therefore observing that the *Argives*, as well out of fear as hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, sought for protection against them, he gave them a secret Assurance of a League

League offensive and defensive with *Athens*. And transacting as well in Person as by Letters, with those who had most Authority amongst the People, he encouraged them neither to fear the *Lacedæmonians*, nor submit to them, but to betake themselves to the *Athenians*, who, if they would expect but a little while, would repent of the Peace, and soon put an end to it. And afterwards when the *Lacedæmonians* had made a League with the *Bæotians*, and had not delivered up *Panactum* entire, as they ought to have done by the Treaty? but defac'd and slighted it, which gave great offence to the People of *Athens*, *Alcibiades* laid hold of that opportunity to exasperate them more highly. He exclaim'd fiercely against *Nicias*, and accus'd him of many things, which seem'd probable enough: As that when he was General, he would not seize upon those men who were deserted by the Enemies Army, and left in the Isle of *Sphacteria*; and that when they were afterwards made Prisoners by others, he procur'd them to be released, and sent back to the *Lacedæmonians*, only to get favour with them; that he would not make use of his Credit with them, to prevent their entering into this Confederacy with the *Bæotians*, and *Corinthians*; and yet on the

other side he sought to hinder those Grecians who were inclined to make an Alliance and Friendship with Athens, if the Lacedæmonians were not pleased with it.

It happen'd at the very time when *Nicias* was by these Arts brought into disgrace with the People; that Ambassadors arrived from *Lacedæmon*, who at their first coming said what seemed very satisfactory, declaring that they had full power to concert all Matters in difference upon equal terms. The Council received their Propositions, and the People was to assemble on the morrow to give them Audience. *Alcibiades* grew very apprehensive of this, and ordered Matters so, that he had a secret Conference with the Ambassadors. When they were met, he said; *What is it you intend, you Men of Sparta? Can you be ignorant, that the Council always carry themselves with Moderation and Respect towards Ambassadors, but that the People are haughty, and affect great things? So that if you let them know what full Powers your Commission gives you, they will urge and press you to yield to unreasonable Conditions. Quit therefore this indiscreet Method, if you expect to obtain equal Terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your Inclination; and begin to treat with the People*

People upon some reasonable Articles, not owning at the first that you are Plenipotentiaries, and I will be ready to assist you, as being very zealous to serve the Lacedæmonians. When he had said thus, he gave them his Oath for the performance of what he promised, and by this way drew them from *Nicias* to rely entirely upon himself, and to admire him as a Person extraordinary for Wisdom and Dexterity in Affairs. The next day when the People were assembled, and the Ambassadors introduced, *Alcibiades* with great Civility demanded of them, with what Powers they were come? they made answer, That they were not come as Plenipotentiaries.

Instantly upon that *Alcibiades* with a loud Voice, (as tho' he had receiv'd, and not done the wrong) began to call them faithless and inconstant, and to shew that such men could not possibly come with a purpose to say or do any thing that was sincere. The Council was highly incens'd, the People were in a rage, and *Nicias*, who knew nothing of the Deceit and the Imposture, was in the greatest Confusion imaginable, being equally surpriz'd and ashamed at such a Change in the Men. So that without more ado, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors were utterly rejected, and *Alcibiades* was declar'd General, who present-

ly drew the *Argives*, the *Elians*, and those of *Mantineæ*, into a Confederacy with the *Athenians*.

No man commended the Method by which *Alcibiades* effected all this, yet it was a great reach in the Politicks, thus to divide and shake almost all *Peloponnesus*, and to bring together so many men in Arms against the *Lacedæmonians* in one day before *Mantineæ*; thereby removing the War and the Danger so far from the Frontier of the *Athenians*, that even success would profit the Enemy but little should they be Conquerors, whereas if they were defeated, *Sparta* it self was hardly safe.

*Alcibiades
restores the
Democracy
at Argos.*

After this Battel at *Mantineæ*, the Officers of the Army of the *Argives* attempted to destroy the Government of the People in *Argos*, and make themselves Masters of the City; and by the Assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* they abolished the Democracy. But the People took Arms again, and having gain'd some Advantage, *Alcibiades* came in to their Aid, and made their Victory compleat. Then he perswaded them to build long Walls, and by that means to joyn their City to the Sea, that so at all times they might more securely receive Succour from the *Athenians*. To this purpose he procur'd them many Masons and Hewers of Stone from *Athens*, and in all things made

made shew of the greatest Zeal for their Service, and thereby gain'd no less Honour and Power to himself, than to the Common-wealth of *Athens*. He also perswaded the *Patræans* to joyn their City to the Sea, by lengthening their Walls; and when they were warn'd, That the *Athenians* would swallow them up at last; *Alcibiades* made Answer, that possibly it might be so, but it would be by little and little, and beginning at the Feet, whereas the *Lacedæmonians* will begin at the Head, and devour you all at once. He did also advise the *Athenians* to make themselves strong at Land, and often put the young Men in mind of the Oath which they had made at *Agraulos*, and excited them to the effectual performance of it; for there they were wont to swear, that they would repute Wheat and Barley, and Vines and Olives, to be the Limits of *Attica*; by which they were taught to claim a Title to all Lands that were manured and fruitful.

But with all these excellent Things which he said and did, with all this Wisdom and Eloquence, he intermingled exorbitant Luxury in his Eating and Drinking, and in his Loves, joyn'd with great Insolence, and Effeminacy. He wore a long purple Robe, which dragg'd after him as he went through the Market-place. He

His Luxury.

He caus'd the Planks of his Galley, to be cut away, that so he might lye the softer, his Bed not being plac'd on the Boards, but hanging upon Girths. And his Shield, which was richly gilded, had not the usual Emblems of the *Athenians*, but a *Cupid* holding a Thunderbolt in his Hand, was painted upon it; which when those of the best Quality in the City saw, they did not only detest it, and resent it highly, but were afraid of his dissolute Manners, and insolent Contempt of Laws, as things monstrous in themselves, and tending to a Change of the Government. *Aristophanes* has well express'd in what manner the People stood affected towards him:

*They hate him, yet they love to see him too,
Still Popular amidst his wild Debauches.*

And in another place he doth more plainly discover the Jealousie which was conceiv'd of him:

*'Tis folly to breed up an infant Lion,
But to provoke him after, downright Madness.*

The truth is, his Liberalities, his publick Shews, and other Munificence to the People, (which were such as nothing could exceed,) the Glory of his Ancestors, the Force

Force of his Eloquence, the Loveliness of his Person, his Strength of Body, joyn'd with his great Courage, and extraordinary Knowledge in Military Affairs, prevail'd upon the *Athenians* to endure patiently his Excesses, to indulge many things to him, and to give the softest Names to his Faults, attributing them only to his Youth and good Nature. He kept *Agatharcus* the Painter a Prisoner, till he had painted his whole House, but then dismiss'd him with a Reward. He publickly struck *Taureas*, who exhibited certain Shews in opposition to him, and contended with him for the Prize. He took to himself one of the captive *Melian* Women, and had a Son by her, whom he took care to educate. This the *Athenians* styl'd great Humanity: and yet he was the principal Cause of the Slaughter of all the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Melos*, who were of Age to bear Arms, by speaking in favour of that cruel Decree. When *Aristophon* the Painter had drawn *Nemea* the Curtezan, sitting and holding *Alcibiades* in her Arms, the Multitude seem'd pleased with the Piece, and throng'd to see it, but the graver sort were highly offended, and looked on these things as great Enormities, and favouring of a Tyranny. So that it was not said amiss by *Archestratus*, that Greece could not

Timon's
Opinion of
him.

not bear two *Alcibiades*. Once when *Alcibiades* succeeded well in an Oration which he made, and the whole Assembly attended upon him to do him Honour, *Timon*, surnamed the Man-hater, would not pass slightly by him, nor avoid him as he did others, but purposely met him, and taking him by the Hand, said, *Go on boldly, my Son, maist thou inorease in Credit with the People, for thou wilt one day bring them Calamities enough.* Some that were present laugh'd at the Saying, and some reproach'd *Timon*; but there were others upon whom it made a deep Impression: So various was the Judgment which was made of him, by reason of the Inequality of his Manners.

Alcibiades
promotes
the Sicilian
Expedition

The *Athenians* in the Life-time of *Pericles* had cast a longing Eye upon *Sicily*, but did not attempt any thing in relation to it, till after his Death. For then, under pretence of aiding their Confederates, they sent Succours upon all Occasions to those who were oppress'd by the *Syracusans*, and thereby made way for the sending over of a greater Force. But *Alcibiades* was the Person who inflam'd this Desire of theirs to the height, and prevail'd with them no longer to proceed secretly in their Design, and by little and little, but to set out a great Fleet, and undertake at once to make them

themselves Masters of the Island. To this purpose he possess'd the People with great Hopes, whilst he himself had much greater; and the Conquest of *Sicily*, which was the utmost Bound of their Ambition, was but the beginning of those things which he thought of. *Nicias* endeavour'd to divert the People from this Expedition, by representing to them, that the taking of *Syracuse* would be a work of great Difficulty. But *Alcibiades* dreamt of nothing less than the Conquest of *Carthage* and *Lybia*, and by the Accession of these, fancied himself already Master of *Italy* and of *Peloponnesus*; so that he seem'd to look upon *Sicily* as little more than a Magazine for the War. The young Men were soon rais'd with these Hopes, and heark'ned gladly to those of riper years, telling them strange things of this Expedition; so that you might see great Numbers sitting in Rings in the Places of Exercise, some describing the Figure of the Island, and others the Situation of *Lybia* and *Carthage*. But it is said, that *Socrates* the Philosopher, and *Meton* the Astrologer, never hop'd for any good to the Common-wealth from this War: The one, (as 'tis probable,) presaging what would ensue, by the Assistance of his *Dæmon*, who conversed with him familiarly; and the other, either upon

upon a rational Consideration of the Project, or by making use of the Art of Divination, was become fearful of the success: and therefore, dissembling Madness, he caught up a burning Torch, and seem'd as if he would have set his own House on fire. Others report, that he did not take upon him to act the Mad man, but that secretly in the night he set his House on fire, and the next morning besought the People, that for his Comfort after such a Calamity, they would spare his Son from the Expedition. By which Artifice he deceived his fellow-Citizens, and obtained of them what he desired.

Is made General, together with Nicias and Lamachus.

Together with *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, much against his Will, was appointed General for he endeavour'd to avoid the Command as disliking his Colleague. But the *Athenians* thought the War would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send *Alcibiades* free from all Restraint, but temper'd his Heat with the Caution of *Nicias*. This they chose the rather to do, because *Lamachus* the third General, tho' he was in his declining years, yet in several Battels had appeared no less hot and rash than *Alcibiades* himself. When they began to deliberate of the number of Forces, and of the manner of making the necessary Provisions *Nicias* made another Attempt to oppose the Design, and to prevent the War; but *Alcibiades*

biades contradicted him, and carried his Point with the People. And one *Demosthenes*, an Orator, proposing to them, that they ought to give the Generals absolute Power, both as to the greatness of the Preparations, and the management of the War, it was presently decreed so. But just when all things were fitted for the Voyage, many unlucky 'Omens appear'd. At that very time the Feast of *Adonis* happened, in which the Women were used to expose in all Parts of the City, Images resembling dead men carried out to their Burial, and to represent Funeral Solemnities by their Lamentations and mournful Songs. The maiming also of the Images of *Mercury*, most of which in one night had their Faces broken, did terrifie many persons who were wont to despise things of that nature. It was given out, that this was done by the *Corinthians*, for the sake of the *Syracusans*, who were a Colony of theirs, in hopes that the *Athenians* observing such Prodigies, might be induc'd to repent of the War. Yet this Report gain'd not any Credit with the People, nor the Opinion of those, who would not believe that there was any thing ominous in the Matter, but that it was only an extravagant Action, committed by some wild young men coming from a Debauch; but they

they were both enrag'd and terrifi'd at the thing, looking upon it to proceed from a Conspiracy of persons, who design'd some great Commotions in the State. And therefore as well the Council, as the Assembly of the People, which upon this Occasion was held frequently in a few days space, examin'd diligently every thing that might administer ground for Suspicion. During this Examination, *Androcles*, one of the *Demagogues*, produc'd certain Slaves and Strangers before them, who accus'd *Alcibiades* and some of his Friends for defacing other Images in the same manner, and for having prophanely acted the sacred Mysteries at a drunken Meeting. Wherein one *Theodorus* represented the Herald, *Polytion* the Torch-bearer, and *Alcibiades* the Chief Priest, and that the rest of his Companions were present, as persons initiated in the holy Mysteries, and acting the Part of Priests. These were the Matters contain'd in the Accusation, which *Thessalus* the Son of *Cimon*, exhibited against *Alcibiades*, for his impious Mockery of the Goddesses, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The People were highly exasperated and enrag'd against *Alcibiades* upon this Accusation, which being aggravated by *Androcles*, the most malicious of all his Enemies, at first disorder'd him exceedingly. But when he perceiv'd that

is suspected
of breaking
the Myster-
ies, and
accus'd for
prophaneing
the Mys-
teries.

that

that all the Sea-men design'd for *Sicily*, were fond of him, and that at the same time the Forces of the *Argives* and the *Mantineans*, which consisted of a 1000 men at Arms, spar'd not to say openly, that they had undertaken this tedious maritime Expedition for the sake of *Alcibiades*, and that if he was ill us'd, they would all presently be gone, he recover'd his Courage, and became eager to make use of the present opportunity for justifying himself. At this his Enemies were again discourag'd, as fearing lest the People should be more gentle towards him in their Sentence, by reason of the present Occasion which they had for his Service. Therefore to obviate this Mischief, they contriv'd that some other Orators, who did not appear to be Enemies to *Alcibiades*, but really hated him no less than those who avow'd themselves to be so, should stand up in the Assembly, and say, that it was a very absurd thing, that one who was created General of such an Army with absolute Power, after his Troops were compleated, and the Confederates were come, should lose the present Opportunity, whilst the People were choosing his Judges by Lots, and appointing times for the hearing of the Cause. And that therefore he ought to set Sayl presently, (and may good Fortune attend him,) but when the War should

D

be

beat an end, he might then in Person make his Defence, according to the Laws.

But *Alcibiades* soon perceiv'd the Malice of this Delay, and appearing in the Assembly, represented to them, that it was a very grievous thing to him, to be sent forth with the Command of so great an Army, when he lay under such Accusations and Calumnies, that he deserv'd to die, if he could not clear himself of the Crimes objected to him. But when he had purg'd himself, and appear'd to be innocent, he should then cheerfully apply himself to the War, as standing no longer in fear of false Accusers. But he could not prevail with the People, who commanded him to sail immediately. So he departed together with the other Generals, having with them near 140 Gallies, 5100 men at Arms, and about 1300 Archers, Slingers, and light arm'd men, and all the other Provisions were answerable, and every way compleat.

Arriving on the Coast of *Italy*, he landed at *Rhegium*, and there propos'd his Advice in what manner they should manage the War. Wherein he was oppos'd by *Nicias*, but *Lamachus* being of his opinion, they sail'd for *Sicily* forthwith, and took *Catana*. That was all which was done while he was there; for he was soon after recall'd by the *Athenians*, to abide his Tryal. At first, (as we before said,) there

Departs for
Sicily.

To recall'd to
answer the
accusation.

there were only some slight suspicions offer'd against *Alcibiades*, and accusations by certain slaves and strangers. But afterwards in his absence his Enemies attack'd him more fiercely, and confounded together the breaking the Images with the profanation of the holy Mysteries, as tho' both had been committed in pursuance of the same Conspiracy for changing the Government. Thereupon the People imprison'd all that were accus'd, without distinction, and without hearing them, and repented themselves exceedingly, that having such pregnant Evidence, they had not immediately brought *Alcibiades* to his Tryal, and given Judgment against him. And if any of his Friends or Acquaintance fell into the Peoples hands, whilst they were in this Fury, they were sure to be us'd very severely. *Thucydides* hath omitted to name his Accusers, but others mention *Dioclydes* and *Teucer*. Amongst whom is *Phrynichus* the Comic Poet, who introduces one speaking thus:

*Hear Hermes thy deceiv'd Athenians call!
Preserve thy Image from a second fall.
Lest Dioclydes once again accuse,
And sacred Justice by false Oaths abuse.*

To which he makes *Mercury* return this Answer.

D 2

Safe

*Safe from Affronts my Statues I will guard,
False Teucer shall not meet with new Reward,
Nor shall his impious Lyes obtain Regard.*

The truth is, his Accusers alledg'd nothing that was certain or solid against him. One of them being ask'd, How he knew the men who defac'd the Images; when he said, He saw them by the light of the Moon, was grossly mistaken, for it was just New Moon when the Fact was committed. This made all men of Understanding cry out upon the thing as a Contrivance, but the People were as eager as ever to receive further Accusations, nor was their first Heat at all abated, but they instantly seiz'd and imprison'd every one that was accus'd. Amongst those who were detain'd in Prison in order to their Tryals, there was *Andocides* the Orator, whom the Historian *Hellanicus* reports to be descended from *Ulysses*. He was always look'd upon to hate the Popular Government, and to affect an Oligarchy. The chiefest ground of causing him to be suspected for defacing the Images, was because the great *Mercury* which was plac'd near his House, and was an ancient Monument of the Tribe of the *Ægeides*, was almost the only Statue, of all the remarkable ones, which remain'd entire.

For

For this Cause it is now call'd the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, all men giving it that Name, tho' the Inscription is an Evidence that it belongs to another Tribe. It happen'd that *Andocides*, above all others who were Prisoners upon the same account, did contract a particular Acquaintance and Friendship with one *Timæus*, a Person not equal to *Andocides* in Quality, but very extraordinary both for Parts and Boldness. He perswaded *Andocides* to accuse himself and some few others, of this Crime, urging to him, that upon his Confession he would be secure of his Pardon, by the Decree of the People, whereas the event of Judgment is uncertain to all men, but to great Persons, as he was, most terrible. So that it was better for him, if he regarded himself, to save his Life by a Falsity, than to suffer an infamous Death, as one really guilty of the same Crime. And if he had a regard to the publick Good, it was commendable to sacrifice a few suspected men, by that means to rescue many excellent Persons from the Fury of the People. The Arguments us'd by *Timæus* so far prevail'd upon *Andocides*, as to make him accuse himself and some others, and thereupon, according to the Decree of the People, he obtain'd his Pardon, and all the persons which were nam'd by him, (except some few who sav'd themselves by Flight)

Andocides
accuses him-
self and o-
ther of
breaking
the Mer-
curies.

D 3

suffer'd

suffer'd Death. To gain the greater Credit to his Information, he accus'd his own Servants amongst others. But notwithstanding this, the Peoples Anger was not appeas'd; and being now no longer diverted by those who had violated the Images, they were at leisure to pour out their whole Rage upon *Alcibiades*. And in conclusion, they sent the Galley call'd the *Salamina*, to recall him. But they gave it expressly in Command to those that were sent, that they should use no violence, nor seize upon his Person, but address themselves to him in the mildest terms, requiring him to follow them to Athens, in order to abide his Tryal, and purge himself before the People. For indeed they fear'd a Mutiny and a Sedition in the Army in an Enemy's Country, which they knew it would be easie for *Alcibiades* to effect, if he had a mind to it. For the Souldiers were dispirited upon his departure, expecting for the future tedious delays, and that the War would be drawn out into a lazy length by *Nicias*, when *Alcibiades*, who was the Spur to Action, was taken away. Fortho' *Lamachus* was a Souldier, and a Man of Courage, yet being poor he wanted Authority and Respect in the Army. *Alcibiades* just upon his departure prevented *Messina* from falling into the hands of the Athenians. There were some in that City

City who were upon the point of delivering it up, but he knowing the persons, discover'd them to some Friends of the *Syracans*, and thereby defeated the whole Contrivance. When he arriv'd at *Thuria*, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, escap'd those who search'd after him. But to one who knew him, and ask'd him, *If he durst not trust his native Country?* he made Answer, *Tes, I dare trust her for all other things; but when the Matter concerns my Life, I will not trust my Mother, lest she should mistake, and unwarily throw in a black Bean instead of a white one.* When afterwards he was told, that the Assembly had pronounc'd Judgment of Death against him, all he said was, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive.*

The Information against him was conceiv'd in this Form:

Thessalus, the Son of *Cimon*, of the Town of *Laciades*, doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the Son of *Clinias*, of the Town of *Scambonides*, to have offended the Goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, by representing in derision the holy Mysteries, and shewing them to his Companions in his own House. Where being habited in such Robes as are us'd by the Chief Priest, when he shews the holy things, he nam'd himself the Chief Priest, *Polytion* the Torch-bearer, and *Theodorus*, of the Town

He is condemn'd.

of *Phrygia*, the Herald, and saluted the rest of his Company as Priests and Novices. All which was done with design to expose the Rites and Institutions of the *Eumolpides*, and the Priests, and other Officers of the holy Mysteries of the Temple at *Eleusis*. He was condemn'd as contumacious upon his not appearing, his Estate confiscated, and it was decreed that all the Priests and Priestesses should solemnly curse him. But one of them, *Theano*, the Daughter of *Menon*, of the Town of *Agraulos*, is said to have oppos'd that part of the Decree, saying, That her holy Office oblig'd her to make Prayers, but not Execrations.

He goes to Sparta.

Alcibiades lying under these heavy Decrees and Sentences, when first he fled from *Thurria*, pass'd over into *Peloponnesus*, and remain'd some time at *Argos*. But being there in fear of his Enemies, and seeing himself utterly rejected by his native Countrey, he sent to *Sparta*, desiring Letters of safe Conduct, and assuring them, that he would make them amends by his future Services for all the Mischief he had done them, while he was their Enemy. The *Spartans*, giving him the Security he desir'd, he went thither cheerfully, and was well receiv'd. At his first coming he brought it to pass, that laying aside all further Caution or Delay, they should aid the *Syracusans*, and he quickn'd

quickn'd and excited them so, that they forthwith dispatch'd *Gylippus* into *Sicily* at the Head of an Army, utterly to destroy the Forces which the *Athenians* had in *Sicily*. Another thing which he perswaded them to do, was to make War also upon the *Athenians*, on the side of *Peloponnesus*. But the third thing, and the most important of all the rest, was to make them fortify *Dacelea*, which above all other things did strengthen and consume the Common-wealth of *Athens*.

As *Alcibiades* gain'd Esteem by the Services which he render'd to the Public, so he was no less respected for his manner of living in private, whereby he wholly captivated the People, and made them dote on him. For he conform'd himself entirely to the *Laconic way*, so that those who saw him shav'd close to the Skin, and bathe himself in cold Water, and feed upon a course Cake, and use their black Broth, would have doubted, or rather could not have believ'd, that he ever had a Cook in his House, or had ever seen a Perfumer, or had worn a Robe of *Milesian Purple*. For he had (as it was observ'd) this peculiar Talent and Artifice, whereby he gain'd upon all men, that he could presently conform himself to, and take up their Fashions and way of Living, more easily than a *Chamælion* can

Takes up the Laconic way of living.

can change himself into new Colours. For a Chamæleon, they say, cannot imitate one Colour, that is, White, but *Alcibiades*, whether he convers'd with debauched or virtuous persons, was still capable of imitating and complying with them. In *Sparta* he was diligent at his Exercises, frugal, and reserv'd. In *Asia* he was luxurious, frolick, and lazy. In *Thracia* he was always drinking, or on Horse back. And when he transacted with *Typhanes*, the King of *Persia's* Lieutenant, he exceeded the *Persians* themselves in Magnificence and Pomp. Not that his natural Disposition chang'd so easily, nor that his Manners were so very variable, but being sensible that if he pursu'd his own Inclinations, he might give offence to those with whom he had occasion to converse, he therefore transform'd himself into such Shapes, and took up such Fashions, as he observ'd to be most agreeable to them. So that to have seen him at *Lacedæmon*, if a Man judg'd by the outward appearance, he would say of him:

*'Tis not Achilles Son, but it is He,
The very man the wise Lycurgus taught.*

But if one look'd more nearly into his Manners, he would cry out, according to the Proverb:

'Tis

'Tis the old Woman still, still lewd as ever.

For while King *Agis* was absent, and abroad with the Army, he corrupted his Wife *Timæa*, and got her with Child. Nor did she deny it, but when she was brought to Bed of a Son, call'd him in publick *Leotychides*, but when she was amongst her Confidants and her Attendants, she would whisper that his Name ought to be *Alcibiades*. To such a degree was she transported by her passion for him. But he on the other side would say in sport, he had not done this thing out of Revenge or Lust, but that his Race might one day come to Reign over the *Lacedæmonians*.

There were many who acquainted *Agis* with these Passages, but the time it self gave the greatest Confirmation to the Story. For *Agis* being frightned with an Earthquake, fled out of Bed from his Wife, and for ten months after never lay with her, and therefore *Leotychides* being born after those ten months, he would not acknowledge him for his Son; which was the Reason that at last he never came to the Kingdom.

After the Defeat which the *Athenians* receiv'd in *Sicily*, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to *Sparta* at once from *Chios*, and *Lesbos*,

Lesbos, and *Cyzicum*, to signifie their purpose of deserting the Interests of the *Athenians*. The *Baotians* interpos'd in favour of the *Lesbians*, and *Pharnabazus* of the *Cyzicians*. But the *Lacedaemonians*, at the persuasion of *Alcibiades*, chose to assist those of *Chios* before all others. He himself also went instantly to Sea, and procur'd almost all *Ionia* to revolt at once, and joyning himself to the *Lacedaemonian* Generals, did great mischief to the *Athenians*. But *Agis* was his Enemy, hating him for having dishonour'd his Wife, which he resented highly, and also not able to bear patiently the Glory he acquir'd, for most of the great Actions, which succeeded well, were universally ascrib'd to *Alcibiades*. Others also of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the *Spartans*, were ready to burst with Envy against *Alcibiades*, and labour'd it so, that at last they prevail'd with the Magistrates in the City to send Orders in to *Ionia* that he should be kill'd. But *Alcibiades* had secret Intelligence of it, and was afraid, so that tho' he communicated all Affairs to the *Lacedaemonians*, yet he took care not to fall into their hands. At last he retir'd to *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia's* Lieutenant, for his security, and immediately became the first and most considerable Person about him. For this *Barbarian* not being

The *Lacedaemonians* design his Death.

He flees to *Tisaphernes*.

being himself sincere, but artificial, and full of deceit, admir'd his Address and wonderful subtilty. And indeed his Carriage was so agreeable in their daily Conversations and Pleasures, that it could not but soften the worst Humour, and take with the roughest Disposition. Even those who fear'd and envi'd him, could not but take delight and have a sort of Kindness for him, when they saw him, and were in his Company. So that *Tisaphernes*, who was otherwise fierce, and above all other *Persians* hated the *Greeks*, yet was so won by the Flatteries of *Alcibiades*, that he set himself even to exceed him in Civility; to that degree, that being owner of some Gardens which were extremely delightful, by reason that they were near Fountains and sweet Meadows, wherein there were Apartments and Houses of Pleasure, royally and exquisitely furnish'd, he caus'd them to be call'd *Alcibiades*, and afterwards every one gave them that Name. Thus *Alcibiades*, quitting the Interests of the *Spartans*, as those whom he could no longer trust, because he stood in fear of *Agis*, endeavour'd to do them all ill Offices, and render them odious to *Tisaphernes*, who by his means was hindred from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the *Athenians*. For his advice was to furnish them but

And does ill Offices to the *Lacedaemonians*.

but sparingly with Money, whereby he would wear them out, and consume them insensibly, and when they had wasted their strength upon one another, they would both become an easie prey to the King. *Tisaphernes* did readily pursue his Counsel, and did so openly express the Value and Esteem which he had for him, that *Alcibiades* was consider'd highly by the Grecians of all Parties. The Athenians now in the midst of their Misfortunes, repented them of their severe Sentence against him. And he on the other side began to be troubled for them, and to fear, lest if the Common-wealth were utterly destroy'd, he should fall into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, his mortal Enemies. At that time the whole Strength of the Athenians was at *Samos*. And their Fleet which rood there, was imploy'd in reducing such as had revolted, and in protecting the rest of their Territories, for as yet they were in a manner equal to their Enemies at Sea. But they stood in fear of *Tisaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet, consisting of an 150 Gallies, which was said to be already under *Say*, and if those came, there remain'd then no hopes for the Common-wealth of *Athen*. When *Alcibiades* understood this, he sent secretly to the chief of the Athenians, who were then at *Samos*, giving them hopes that he

he would make *Tisaphernes* their Friend, not with any Design to gratifie the People, whom he would never trust, but out of his Respect to the Nobility, if like men of Courage, they durst attempt to repress the Insolence of the People, and by taking upon them the Government, would endeavour to save the City from Ruine. All of them gave a ready Ear to the Proposal made by *Alcibiades*, except only *Phrynichus*, one of the Generals, who was a Native of the Town of *Dirades*. He oppos'd him, suspecting, as the truth was, that *Alcibiades* concern'd not himself, whether the Government were in the People or the Nobility, but only sought by any means to make way for his Return into his native Countrey, and to that end inveigh'd against the People, thereby to gain the Nobility, and to insinuate himself into their good Opinion. But when *Phrynichus* found his Counsel to be rejected, and that he was now become a declar'd Enemy of *Alcibiades*; he gave secret Intelligence of this to *Astyochus*, the Enemy's Admiral, cautioning him to beware of *Alcibiades*, and to look upon him as a double Dealer, and one that offer'd himself to both sides, not understanding all this while that one Traitor was making Discoveries to another. For *Astyochus*, who was zealous to gain the Favour of *Tisaphernes*,

Alcibiades makes Offers to the Athenians

Phryni-chus Treachery.

Tisaphernes, observing the great Credit which *Alcibiades* had with him, reveal'd to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had said against him. *Alcibiades* presently dispatch'd away some to *Samos*, to accuse *Phrynichus* of the Treachery. Upon this all the Commanders were enrag'd at *Phrynichus*, and set themselves against him, and he seeing no other way to extricate himself from the present Danger, attempted to remedy one Evil by a greater. For he sent away to *Athens* to reproach him for betraying him, and to make an Offer to him at the same time, to deliver into his hands both the Army and the Navy of the *Athenians*. But neither of this Treason of *Phrynichus* bring any Damage to the *Athenians*, by reason that *Alcibiades* repeated his Treachery, and reveal'd also this proposal of *Phrynichus* to *Alcibiades*. This was foreseen by *Phrynichus*, who fearing a second Accusation from *Alcibiades* to prevent him, advertis'd the *Athenians* before-hand that the Enemy was ready to fail, in order to surprize them, and therefore advis'd them to fortifie their Camp, and to be in a readiness to go aboard their Ships. While the *Athenians* were intent upon doing these things, they receiv'd other Letters from *Alcibiades*, admonishing them to beware of *Phrynichus*, as one who design'd to betray their Fleet to the Enemy.

Enemy, to which they then gave no credit at all, conceiving that *Alcibiades*, who knew perfectly the Counsels and Preparations of the Enemy, made use of that Knowledge, in order to impose upon them in this false Accusation of *Phrynichus*. Yet afterwards when *Phrynichus* was stabb'd with a Dagger in the Market-place by *Hermon*, who was then upon the Watch, the *Athenians*, entering into an Examination of the Cause, solemnly condemn'd *Phrynichus* of Treason, and decreed Crowns to *Hermon* and his Associates. And now the Friends of *Alcibiades* carrying all before them at *Samos*, they dispatch'd *Pisander* to *Athens*, to endeavour a Change in the State, and to encourage the Nobility to take upon themselves the Government, and destroy the Republic, representing to them, that upon those Terms, *Alcibiades* would procure that *Tisaphernes* should become their Friend and Confédere.

This was the Colour and the Pretence made use of by those, who desir'd to reduce the Government of *Athens* to an Oligarchy. But as soon as they prevail'd, and had got the Administration of Affairs into their hands, they took upon themselves the Name of the 5000. whereas indeed they were but 400. and began to slight *Alcibiades* extreamly, and to prosecute the War with less Vigor than formerly. Part-ly

The Govern-
ment
chang'd in
Athens.

ly because they durst not, yet trust the Citizens, who secretly detested this Change, and partly because they thought the *Lacedæmonians*, who did ever affect the Government of the Few, would now press them less vehemently.

The People in the City were terrifi'd into a Submission, many of those who had dar'd openly to oppose the 400. having been put to death. But they who were at *Samos* were enrag'd as soon as they heard this News, and resolv'd to set *Sayl* instantly for the *Paræum*. And sending for *Alcibiades*, they declar'd him General, requiring him to lead them on to destroy these Tyrants. But in that Juncture he did not act like one rais'd on a sudden by the Favour of the Multitude, nor would yield and comply in every thing, as being oblig'd entirely to gratifie and submit to those, who from a Fugitive and an Exile, had created him General of so great an Army, and given him the Command of such a Fleet. But as became a great Captain, he oppos'd himself to the precipitate Resolutions which their Rage led them to, and by restraining them from so great an Error as they were about to commit, he manifestly sav'd the Commonwealth. For if they had return'd to *Athens*, all *Ionia* and the Isles of the *Hælespont*, would have fallen into the Enemies hands

*Alcibiades
made General
of the Athenians
at Samos.*

hands without opposition, while the *Athenians*, engag'd in Civil Wars, destroy'd one another within the Circuit of their own Walls. It was *Alcibiades* principally who prevented all this Mischief, for he did not only use Perswasions to the whole Army, and inform them of the Danger, but appli'd himself to them one by one, entreating some, and forcibly restraining others. And herein he was much assisted by *Thrasylbulus* of *Stria*, who having the loudest Voice of all the *Athenians*, went along with him, and cry'd out to those who were ready to be gone. Another great Service which *Alcibiades* did for them was, his undertaking that the *Phœnician* Fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* expected to be sent to them by the King of *Persia*, should either come in Aid of the *Athenians*, or otherwise should not come at all. He went on board with all expedition in order to perform this, and so manag'd the thing with *Tisaphernes*, that tho' those Ships were already come as far as *Aspendos*, yet they advanc'd no farther, so that the *Lacedæmonians* were disappointed of them. It was by both sides agreed that this Fleet was diverted by the Procurement of *Alcibiades*. But the *Lacedæmonians* openly accus'd him, that He had advis'd this Barbarian to stand still, and suffer the *Græcians* to waste and destroy

one another, For it was evident that, the Accession of so great a Force to either Party, would have enabled them to have ravish'd entirely the Dominion of the Sea from the other side. Soon after this the 400 Usurpers were driven out, the Friends of *Alcibiades* vigorously assisting those who were for the popular Government. And now the People in the City not only desir'd, but commanded *Alcibiades* to return home from his Exile. However he disdain'd to owe his Return to the meer Grace and Commiseration of the People, and therefore resolv'd to come back with Glory, and upon the Merit of some eminent Service. To this end he sail'd from *Samos* with a few Ships, and cruiz'd on the Sea of *Gnidos*, and about the Isle of *Coos*, and got Intelligence there that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* Admiral, was sail'd with his whole Army into the *Hellespont*, in pursuit of the *Athenians*. Thereupon he made haste to succour the *Athenian* Commanders, and by good fortune arriv'd with 18 Gallies at a critical time. For both the Fleets having engag'd near *Abydos*, the Fight between them had lasted from morning till night, the one side having the Advantage on the right Wing, and the other on the left. Upon his first Appearance, both sides conceiv'd a false opinion of the end of his coming, for the Enemy was encourag'd and

Is recall'd
by the A-
thenians.

and the *Athenians* terrifi'd. But *Alcibiades* suddenly advanc'd the *Athenian* Flag in the Admiral Ship, and with great Fury fell upon the *Peloponnesians*, who had then the Advantage, and were in the pursuit. He soon put them to flight, and follow'd them so close that he forc'd them on shore, broke their Ships in pieces, and slew the men who endeavour'd to save themselves by Swimming; altho' *Pharnabazus* was come down to their Assistance by Land, and did what he could to cover the Ships as they lay under the shore. In fine, the *Athenians* having taken 30 of the Enemies Ships, and recover'd all their own, erected a Trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a Victory, his Vanity made him affect to shew himself to *Tisaphernes*, and having furnish'd himself with Gifts and Presents, and an Equipage suitable to so great a General, he set forwards towards him. But the Thing did not succeed as he had imagin'd, for *Tisaphernes* had been long suspected by the *Lacedaemonians*, and was afraid to fall into Disgrace with his King upon that account, and therefore thought that *Alcibiades* arriv'd very opportunely, and immediately caus'd him to be seiz'd, and sent away Prisoner to *Sardis*; fancying by this Act of Injustice, to purge himself from all former Imputations. But about 30 days after *Alcibiades*

Alcibiades
defeats the
Lacedaemonians
at Sea.

Is made Pri-
soner by *Ti-*
saphernes.

Ades escap'd from his Keepers, and having got a Horse, fled to *Chazomene*; where he accus'd *Tisapharnes* as consenting to his Escape. From thence he sail'd to the *Athenian* Camp, and being inform'd there that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together at *Cyzicum*, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, shewing them that it was necessary to attack the Enemies both by Sea and Land, nay even to force them in their Fortifications; for unless they gain'd a compleat Victory, they would soon be in want of necessary Provisions for their subsistence. As soon as ever he got them on Ship-board, he hasten'd to *Proconessus*, and there gave Command to place all the smaller Vessels in the midst of the Navy, and to take all possible care that the Enemy might have no notice of his coming; and a great Storm of Rain, accompanied with Thunder and Darkness, which happen'd at the same time, contributed much to the concealing of his Design. So that it was not only undiscover'd by the Enemy, but the *Athenians* themselves were ignorant of it, for he suddenly commanded them on board, and set Sail before they were aware. As soon as the Darkness was over, he perceiv'd himself to be in sight of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which rode at Anchor before the Port of *Cyzicum*. *Alcibiades* fearing lest if they discover'd

Destroys
the Lacedæmonian
Fleet at
Cyzicum.

the

the number of his Ships, they might endeavour to save themselves by Land, commanded the rest of the Captains to slacken their Sails, and follow after him slowly, whilst he advancing with 40 Ships, shew'd himself to the Enemy, and provok'd them to fight. The Enemy being deceiv'd in their Number, despis'd them, and supposing they were to contend with those only, made themselves ready and began the Fight. But as soon as they were engag'd, they perceiv'd the other part of the Fleet coming down upon them, at which they were so terrifi'd that they fled immediately. Upon that *Alcibiades* with 20 of his best Ships breaking through the midst of them, hasten'd to the shore, and suddenly making a Descent, pursu'd those who abandon'd their Ships and fled to Land, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* coming to their Succour, were utterly defeated. *Mindarus* was slain upon the Place, fighting valiantly, but *Pharnabazus* sav'd himself by flight. The *Athenians* slew great Numbers of their Enemies, won much Spoil, and took all their Ships. They also made themselves Masters of *Cyzicum*, it being deserted by *Pharnabazus*, and put to death all the *Peloponnesians* that were there, and thereby not only secur'd to themselves the *Hellepont*, but by force drove the *Lacedæmonians* from out of

all the other Seas. They intercepted also some Letters written to the *Ephor*, which gave an account of this fatal Overthrow after their short *Laconic* manner. *Our Hopes are at an end. Mindarus is slain. The Souldiers starve; and we know not what Measures to take.* The Souldiers who follow'd *Alcibiades* in this last Fight, were so exalted with the Success, and come to that degree of Pride, that looking on themselves as Invincible, they disdain'd to mix with the other Souldiers who had been often overcome. For it happen'd not long before, *Thrasyllus* had receiv'd a great Defeat near *Ephesus*, and upon that Occasion the *Ephesians* erected a brazen Trophy to the Disgrace of the *Athenians*. The Souldiers of *Alcibiades* reproach'd those who were under the Command of *Thrasyllus* with this Misfortune, at the same time magnifying themselves and their own Commander, and it went so far at last that they would not do their Exercises with them, nor lodge in the same Quarters. But soon after *Pharnabazus* with a great Strength of Horse and Foot, falling upon the Souldiers of *Thrasyllus*, as they were laying waste the Territory of the *Abydenians*, *Alcibiades* coming to their Aid, routed *Pharnabazus*, and together with *Thrasyllus*, pursu'd him till it was night. Then their Troops united and return'd together

gether to the Camp, rejoicing and congratulating one another. The next day he erected a Trophy, and then proceeded to lay waste with Fire and Sword the whole Province which was under *Pharnabazus*, where none durst appear to oppose them. In this Action he took divers Priests and Priestesses, but releas'd them without Ransom. He prepar'd next to make War upon the *Chalcedonians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and had receiv'd a *Lacedæmonian* Governour and Garrison. But having Intelligence that they had remov'd their Corn and Cattel out of the Fields, and had sent all to the *Bithynians*, who were their Friends, he drew down his Army to the Frontier of the *Bithynians*, and then sent a Herald to accuse them of this Procedure. The *Bithynians* being terrifi'd at his Approach, deliver'd up to him the whole Booty, and entred into an Alliance with him. Afterwards he proceeded to the Siege of *Calcedon*, and enclos'd it with a wall from Sea to Sea. *Pharnabazus* advanc'd with his Forces to raise the Siege, and *Hippocrates*, the Governour of the Town; at the same time gathering together all the strength he had, made a Sally upon the *Athenians*. *Alcibiades* divided his Army so, as to engage them both at once, and not only forc'd *Pharnabazus* to a dishonourable flight, but

H: makes
War upon
the Chal-
cedonians.

flew

Takes the
City of S-
elybria,

flow *Hippocras*, and a great number of the Souldiers which were with him. After this he sail'd into the *Helleſpont*, in order to raise supplies of Money, and took the City of *Selybria*, in which Action through his precipitancy, he expos'd himself to great Danger. For some within the Town had undertaken to betray it into his hands, and by Agreement were to give him a Signal by a lighted Torch about midnight. But one of the Conspirators beginning to repent himself of the Design, the rest for fear of being discover'd, were driven to give the signal before the appointed hour. *Alcibiades* as soon as he saw the Torch lifted up in the Air, tho' his Army was not in readiness to march, ran instantly towards the Walls, taking with him about 30 Men only, and commanding the rest of the Army to follow him with all possible Diligence. When he came thither, he found the Gate open'd for him, and entred with his 30 Men, and about 20 more light arm'd Men, who were come up to them. They were no sooner fallen into the City, but he perceiv'd the *Selybrians* all arm'd coming down upon him: so that there was no hope of escaping if he stay'd to receive them; and on the other side, having been always successful till that day, wherever he commanded, his Glory would not suffer him to fly. But on the sudden he thought of this

this Device: he requir'd Silence by sound of a Trumpet, and then commanded one of his Men to make Proclamation, that the *Selybrians* should not take Arms against the *Athenians*. This cool'd such of the Inhabitants as were fiercest for the Fight, for they suppos'd that all their Enemies were got within the Walls, and it rais'd the hopes of others who were dispos'd to an Accommodation. Whilst they were parlying, and Propositions made on one side and the other, *Alcibiades* whole Army came up to the Town. But then conjecturing rightly that the *Selybrians* were well inclin'd to Peace, and fearing lest the City might be sack'd by the *Thracians*, (who came in great Numbers to his Army to serve as Volunteers, out of their particular Kindness and Respect for him) he commanded them all to retreat without the Walls. And upon the Submission of the *Selybrians*, he sav'd them from being pillag'd, and only taking of them a Sum of Money, and placing an *Athenian* Garrison in the Town, he departed.

During this Action, the *Athenian* Captains, who besieg'd *Chalcedon*, concluded a Treaty with *Pharnabazus* upon these Articles: That he should give them a Sum of Money: That the *Chalcedonians* should return to the Subjection of *Athens*, and that the *Athenians* should make no Inroad into the Province whereof

He besieges
and takes
Byzan-
tium.

whereof *Pharnabazus* was Governour; and *Pharnabazus* was also to provide safe Conducts for the *Athenian* Ambassadors to the King of *Persia*. Afterwards when *Alcibiades* return'd thither, *Pharnabazus* requir'd that he also should be sworn to the Treaty; but he refus'd it, unless *Pharnabazus* would swear at the same time. When the Treaty was sworn to on both sides, *Alcibiades* went against the *Byzantines*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and drew a Line of Circumvallation about the City. But *Anaxilaus* and *Lycurgus*, together with some others, having undertaken to betray the City to him, upon his Engagement to preserve the Lives and Estates of the Inhabitants, he caus'd a Report to be spread abroad as if by reason of some unexpected Commotion in *Ionia*, he should be oblig'd to raise the Siege. And accordingly that day he made a shew to depart with his whole Fleet; but return'd the same night, and went ashore with all his Men at Arms, and silently and undiscover'd march'd up to the Walls. At the same time his Ships were row'd into the Haven with all possible Violence, coming on with much Fury, and with great Shouts, and Outcries. The *Byzantines* being thus surpris'd, and quite astonish'd, while they were universally engag'd in defence of their

their Port and Shipping, gave opportunity to those who favour'd the *Athenians*, securely to receive *Alcibiades* into the City. Yet the Enterprize was not accomplish'd without Fighting, for the *Peloponnesians*, *Bæotians*, and *Megareans*, not only repuls'd those who came out of the Ships, and forc'd them to get on board again, but hearing that the *Athenians* were entred on the other side, they drew up in order, and went to meet them. But *Alcibiades* gain'd the Victory after a sharp Fight, wherein he himself had the Command of the right Wing, and *Theramenes* of the left, and took about 300 of the Enemy Prisoners. After the Battel; not one of the *Byzantines* was slain, or driven out of the City, according to the Terms upon which the City was put into his hands, that they should receive no prejudice in their Persons or Estates. Whereupon *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accus'd at *Lacedæmon* for this Treason, he neither disown'd nor was asham'd of the Action: For he urg'd that he was not a *Lacedæmonian*, but a *Byzantine*, and that he saw not *Sparta*, but *Byzantium* in extream Danger; the City so streightly begirt, that it was not possible to bring in any new Provisions, and the *Peloponnesians* and *Bæotians* which were in Garrison, devouring their old Stores, whilst the *Byzantines* with their Wives

Wives and Children were ready to stand. That he had not betray'd his Country to Enemies, but had deliver'd it from the Calamities of War, wherein he had follow'd the Example of the most worthy *Lacedæmonians*, who esteem'd nothing to be honourable and just but what was profitable for their Country. The *Lacedæmonians* upon the hearing his Defence, were so well pleas'd, that they discharged all that were accus'd.

Alcibiades
returns to
Athens.

And now *Alcibiades* began to desire to see his native Countrey again, or rather to show his fellow-Citizens a Person who had gain'd so many Victories for them. To this end he set Sail for *Athens*, his Ships being adorn'd on every side with great Numbers of Shields and other Spoils, and towing after them many Gallies taken from the Enemy, and the Ensigns and Ornaments of many others which he had sunk and destroy'd; all of them together amounting to 200. But there is little Credit to be given to what *Daris* the *Samian* (who pretended himself to be descended from *Alcibiades*) does add that *Chrysogonus*, who had won the Prize at the *Pythian* Games, play'd upon his Flute as the Gallies pass'd on, whilst the Oars kept time with the Musick; and that *Calipides* the *Tragædian*, attir'd in his Buskins, his purple Robes, and other Ornaments which he us'd in the Theatre, excited

cited those who labour'd at the Oars; and that the Admiral Galley entred into the Port with a purple Sayl. For these things are such kind of Extravagances as are wont to follow a Debauch, and neither *Theopompus*, nor *Euphorus*, nor *Xenophon*, mention them. Nor indeed is it credible, that one who return'd from so long an Exile, and such variety of Misfortunes; should carry himself with so much Insolence and Luxury. On the contrary he entred the Harbour full of Fear, nor would afterwards venture to go on shore, till standing on the Deck, he saw *Euryptolemus* his Nephew, and others of his Friends and Acquaintance, who were ready to receive him, and invited him to Land. As soon as he was landed, the Multitude who came out to meet him, disdain'd to bestow a Look on any of the other Captains, but came in Throngs about *Alcibiades*, and saluted him with loud Acclamations, and still follow'd him. They who could press near him, crown'd him with Garlands, and they who could not come up so close, yet stay'd to behold him afar off, and the old Men pointed him out, and shew'd him to the young ones. Nevertheless this publick Joy was mix'd with some Tears, and the present Happiness was allay'd by the remembrance of all the Miseries they had endur'd. They made Reflections, that they

His Reception there.

they could not have so unfortunately miscarri'd in *Sicily*, or been defeated in any of those things which they had ever hop'd for, if they had left the management of their Affairs, and the Command of their Forces, *Alcibiades*. Since upon his undertaking the Administration, when they were in a manner ruin'd at Sea, and could scarce defend the Suburbs of their City by Land, and at the same time were miserably distracted with intestine Factions, he had rais'd them up from this low and deplorable Condition, and had not only restor'd them to their ancient Dominion of the Sea, but had also made them every where victorious over their Enemies at Land. There had been a decree for recalling him from his Banishment, already pass'd by the People, at the Instance of *Critias*, the Son of *Calleschrus*, as appears by his Elegies, in which he puts *Alcibiades* in mind of this Service:

*From my proposal the Decree did come, (homer)
Which from your tedious Exile brought you home
That you're restor'd, you to my Friendship owe
I was the first durst press it should be so.*

The People being summon'd to an Assembly, *Alcibiades* came in amongst them, and first bewail'd and lamented his own sufferings, and gently and modestly complain'd of their Usage, imputing all to his hard

hard Fortune, and some ill Genius that attended him. Then he discours'd at large of the great Assurance of their Enemies, but withal exhorted them to take Courage. The People crown'd him with Crowns of Gold, and Created him General both at Land and Sea with absolute Power. They also made a Decree, that his Estate should be restor'd to him, and that the *Eumolpides* and the holy Heralds should again absolve him from the Curses which they had solemnly pronounc'd against him, by Sentence of the People. Which when all the rest obey'd, *Theodorus* the High-priest excus'd himself, For, said he, *I never pronounc'd any Execration against him, if he have done nothing against the Common-wealth.*

But notwithstanding the Affairs of *Alcibiades* succeeded so prosperously, and so much to his glory, yet many were still much disturb'd, and look'd upon the time of his arrival to be ominous. For on the same day that he came into the Port, the Feast of the Goddess *Minerva*, which they call the *Plynteria*, was kept. It is the 25th. day of September, when the *Praxiergides* do solemnize those Mysteries which are not to be reveal'd, taking all the Ornaments from off her Image, and keeping the Image it self close cover'd. Hence it is that the *Athenians* esteem this day most auspicious, and never go about any thing

Alcibiades
conducts
the Procession
to Eleu-
sis with his
Army.

of Importance upon it: and therefore the
imagin'd, that the Goddess did not receive
Alcibiades graciously and propitiously, but
hid her Face from him, and rejected him.
Yet notwithstanding every thing succeeded
according to his Will. When the 100 G
leys were fitted out and ready to sail,
honourable Zeal detain'd him till the Cele-
bration of those Mysteries was fully per-
formed. For since the time that *Decelea* was fortified
the Enemies had made themselves Masters
the Ways which lead from *Athens* to *Eleu-
sis*, and by reason thereof, the Procession
being of necessity to go by Sea, could not
perform'd with Solemnity; but they were
forc'd to omit the Sacrifices, and Dance
and other holy Ceremonies, which were us-
to be done in the way, when they bring
forth *Iacchus*. *Alcibiades* therefore judg'd
would be a glorious Action, whereby
should do Honour to the Gods, and gain
Esteem with Men, if he restor'd the ancient
Splendor to these Rites, in conducting the
Procession again by Land, and protecting
it with his Army from the Enemy. For
thereby he was sure, if *Agis* stood still and
did not oppose him, it would very much
diminish and obscure his Glory, or other-
wise that he should engage in a Holy War
in the Cause of the Gods, and in defence
of the most sacred and solemn Ceremonies

and this in the sight of his Country,
where he should have all his fellow-Citi-
zens Witnesses of his Valour. As soon as
he had resolv'd upon this Design, and had
communicated it to the *Eumolpides*, and o-
ther holy Officers, he plac'd Sentinels on the
tops of the Mountains, and at the break
of day sent forth his Scouts. And then ta-
king with him the Priests, and consecrated
Persons, and those who had the Charge of
initiating others in the holy Mysteries, and
compassing them with his Souldiers, he con-
ducted them with great Order and pro-
found Silence. This was an august and
venerable Procession, wherein all who did
not envy him said, He perform'd at once
the Office of an High-Priest and of a Gene-
ral. The Enemy durst not attempt any
thing against them, and thus he brought
them back in safety to the City. Upon which
as he was exalted in his own Thought, so the
opinion which the People had of his Conduct,
was rais'd to that degree, that they look'd
upon their Armies as irresistible and invinci-
ble while he commanded them. He so won
upon the lower and meaner sort of People,
that they passionately desir'd he would take
the Sovereignty upon him, some of them
made no difficulty to tell him so, and to advise
him to put himself out of the reach of Envy,
by abolishing the Laws and Ordinances of the

He defeats
the Lacedæ-
monians
at Andros.

People, and suppressing those ill affected persons who would overturn the State, that he might act and take upon him the management of Affairs, without standing in fear of being call'd to an Account. How far his own Inclinations led him to usurp sovereign Power, is uncertain, but the most considerable Persons in the City were so much afraid of it, that they hastned him on Ship-board all they could, granting him Liberty to choose his own Officers, and allowing him all other things as he desir'd. Thereupon he set sail with a Fleet of an 100 Ships, and arriving at *Andros*, he there fought with and defeated as well the Inhabitants, as the *Lacedæmonians* who assisted them. But yet he took not the City, which gave the first occasion to his Enemies for all their Accusations against him. Certainly if ever Man was ruin'd by his own Glory, it was *Alcibiades*. For his continual Success had begot such an opinion of his Courage and Conduct, that if he fail'd in any thing he undertook, it was imputed to his Neglect, and no one would believe it was through want of Power. For they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. They fanci'd also every day that they should hear News of the reducing of *Chios*, and of the rest of *Ionia*, and grew impatient that things were not effected as fast as

and as suddenly as they imagin'd. They never consider'd how extreamly Money was wanting, and that being to make War with an Enemy, who had Supplies of all things from a great King, he was often forc'd to forsake his Camp, in order to procure Money and Provisions for the Subsistence of his Soldiers. This it was which gave occasion for the last Accusation which was made against him. For *Lyfander* being sent from *Lacedæmon* with a Commission to be Admiral of their Fleet, and being furnish'd by *Cyrus* with a great Sum of Money, gave every Mariner four Obolles a day, whereas before they had but three. *Alcibiades* could hardly allow his Men three Obolles, and therefore was constrain'd to go into *Caria* to furnish himself with Money. He left the Care of the Fleet, in his absence, to *Antiochus*, an experien'd Seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express Orders from *Alcibiades* not to engage, tho' the Enemy provok'd him. But he slighted and disregarded the Orders to that degree, that having made ready his own Galley and another, he presently stood for *Ephesus*, where the Enemy lay, and as he sail'd before the Heads of their Galleys, us'd the highest Provocations possible both in Words and Deeds, *Lyfander* at first mann'd out a few Ships, and pursu'd him. But all the *Athenian* Ships coming in to his Assist-

The Athenian Fleet is defeated in his absence.

ance, *Lyfander* also brought up his whole Fleet, which gain'd an entire Victory. He slew *Autiachus* himself, took many Men and Ships, and erected a Trophy.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard this News, he return'd to *Samos*, and loosing from thence with his whole Fleet, he came and offer'd Battel to *Lyfander*. But *Lyfander* content with the Victory he had gain'd, would not stir. Amongst others in the Army who had a malice to *Alcibiades*, *Thrasylbulus* the Son of *Thrason*, was his particular Enemy, and went purposely to *Athens* to accuse him, and to exasperate his Enemies in the City against him. In an Oration to the People he represented that *Alcibiades* had ruin'd their Affairs, and lost their Ships, by incessantly abusing his Authority, committing the Government of the Army in his absence to such as by their Debauchery and scurrilous Discourses were got most into Credit with him, whilst he wandred up and down for pleasure to raise Money, giving himself up to all Luxury and Excesses amongst the *Abydian* and *Ionian* Curtezans, at a time when the Enemy's Navy rode at Anchor so near his. It was also objected to him, that he had fortify'd a Castle near *Byzantus* in *Thrace* for a safe retreat for himself, as one that either could not, or would not live in his own Country. The *Athenians* gave Credit to these Informations, and discover'd the Re-

sentment

sentment and Displeasure which they had conceiv'd against him, by choosing other Generals.

As soon as *Alcibiades* heard of this, he immediately forsook the Army, being afraid of what might follow. And getting many Strangers together, he made War upon his own account against those *Thracians* who pretended to be free, and acknowledg'd no King. By this means he amass'd to himself a great Treasure out of the Spoils which he took, and at the same time secur'd the bordering *Græcians* from the Incurfions of the *Barbarians*.

Tydeus, *Menander* and *Adimantus*, the new made Generals, were at that time riding in the River *Ægos*, with all the Ships which the *Athenians* had left. From whence they were us'd to go out to Sea every Morning, and offer Battel to *Lyfander*, who lay at Anchor near *Lampsachus*: and when they had done so, returning back again, they lay all the rest of the day carelessly, and without order, as Men who despis'd the Enemy, *Alcibiades* who was not far off, did not think so slightly of their Danger, nor did neglect to let 'em know it, but mounting his Horse, he came to the Generals, and represented to them, that they had chosen a very inconvenient Station, as wanting a safe Harbour, and far distant from any Town: so that they were constrain'd to send for their ne-

F 4

cessary

Alcibiades
is accus'd
again at
Athens.

He for-
sok the
Army.

The *Athe-
nians* cre-
ate new
Generals.

cessary Provisions as far as *Sestos*. He also reprov'd them for their Carelessness, in suffering the Souldiers when they went ashore, to disperse themselves, and wander up and down at their pleasure, when the Enemies Fleet, which was under the Command of one General, and strictly obedient to Discipline, lay so very near them. *Alcibiades* admonish'd them of these things, and advis'd them to remove the Fleet to *Sestos*. But the Admirals did not only disregard what he said, but *Tydeus* with great Insolence commanded him to be gone, saying, that now not he, but others had the Command of the Forces. Whereupon *Alcibiades* suspecting something of Treachery in them, departed. But he told his Friends who accompani'd him out of the Camp, that if the Generals had not us'd him with such insupportable Contempt he would within a few days have forc'd the *Lacedaemonians*, however unwilling, either to have fought the *Athenians* at Sea, or to have deserted their Ships. Some look'd upon this as a piece of Ostentation only, but others said, the thing was probable, for that he might have brought down by Land great Numbers of the *Thracian* Cavalry and Archers, to assault and disorder them in their Camp. The Event did soon make it evident, how very rightly he judg'd of the Errors which the *Athenians* committed. For *Lyfander* fell upon

upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such Fury, that *Conon* with 8 Gallies only escap'd him, all the rest, (which were about 200) he took and carried away: together with 3000 Prisoners, which he afterwards put to death. And within a short time after he took *Athens* it self, burnt all the Ships, which he found there, and demolish'd their long Walls.

After this *Alcibiades* standing in dread of the *Lacedaemonians*, who were now Masters both at Sea and Land, retir'd into *Bithynia*. He sent thither great Treasure before him, took much with him, but left much more in the Castle where he had before resided. But he lost great part of his Wealth in *Bithynia*, being robb'd by some *Thracians* who liv'd in those Parts, and thereupon he determin'd to go to the Court of *Artaxerxes*, not doubting but that the King, if he would make tryal of his Abilities, would find him not inferior to *Themistocles*, besides that he was recommended by a more honourable Cause. For he went, not as *Themistocles* did to offer his Service against his fellow-Citizens, but against their Enemies, and to implore the King's Aid for the defence of his Country. He concluded that *Pharnabazus* would most readily procure him a safe Conduct, and therefore went into *Phrygia* to him, and continu'd to dwell there some time, paying

Lysander
sits 30 Go-
vernours in
Athens

saying him great Respect, and being honourably treated by him. The Athenians in the mean time were miserably afflicted at their loss of Empire, but when they were depriv'd of Liberty also, and Lysander had impos'd 30 Governours upon the City, and their State was finally ruin'd, then they began to reflect on those things, which they would never consider whilst they were in a prosperous condition: then they did acknowledge and bewail their former Errors and Follies, and judg'd this second ill Usage of Alcibiades to be of all others the most inexcusable. For he was rejected, without any Fault committed by himself, and only because they were incens'd against his Lieutenant, for having shamefully lost a few Ships, they much more shamefully depriv'd the Commonwealth of a most valiant and most accomplish'd General. Yet in this sad state of Affairs they had still some faint Hopes left them, nor would they utterly despair of the Athenian Commonwealth while Alcibiades was safe. For they perswaded themselves before when he was an Exile, he could not content himself to live idly and at ease; much less now (if he could find any favourable opportunity) would he endure the Insolence of the Lacedaemonians, and the Outrages of the 30 Tyrants. Nor was it an absurd thing in the People to entertain such Imaginations, when

when the 30 Tyrants themselves were so very solicitous to be inform'd, and to get Intelligence of all his Actions and Desigus. In fine, Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedaemonians could never securely enjoy the Dominion of Greece, till the Athenian Democracy was absolutely destroy'd. And tho' now the People of Athens seem'd quietly and patiently to submit to so small a number of Governours, yet Alcibiades, whilst he liv'd, would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present Circumstances.

Yet Lysander would not be prevail'd upon by these Discourses, till at last he receiv'd secret Letters from the Magistrates of Lacedaemon, expressly requiring him to get Alcibiades dispatch'd. Whether it was that they fear'd the vivacity of his Wit, or the greatness of his Courage in enterprizing what was hazardous, or whether it was done to gratify King Agis. Upon receipt of this Order, Lysander sent away a Messenger to Pharnabazus, desiring him to put it in execution. Pharnabazus committed the Affair to Magæus his Brother, and to his Uncle Susamithres. Alcibiades resided at that time in a small Village in Phrygia, together with Timandra, a Mistress of his. As he slept, he had this Dream: He thought himself attird in his Mistresses Habit, and that she, holding him in her Arms, dress'd his Head, and painted his Face, as if he had been a Woman.

The Lacedaemonians send Orders that Alcibiades should be slain.

The manner
of his
Death.

Woman. Others say, he dream'd that *Marcella* cut off his Head, and burnt his Body. And it is said, that it was but a little while before his Death, that he had these Visions. They who were sent to assassinate him, had not Courage enough to enter the House, but surrounding it first, they set it on fire. *Alcibiades* as soon as he perceiv'd it, getting together great Quantities of Cloaths and Furniture, threw them upon the Fire, with a Design to choke it, and having wrapp'd his Robe about his left Arm, and holding his naked Sword in his right, he cast himself into the middle of the Fire, and escap'd securely through it, before his Cloaths were burnt. The *Barbarians*, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst stay to expect him, or to engage with him, but standing at a distance, they slew him with their Darts and Arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead Body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own Robes, she bury'd it as decently and as honourably as her present Circumstances would allow. 'Tis said, that the famous *Lais*, (who was call'd the *Corinthian*, tho' she was a Native of *Hyccaris*, a small Town in *Sicily*, from whence she was brought a Captive) was the Daughter of this *Timandra*. There are some who agree with this Relation of *Alcibiades* Death in all

all things except only that they impute not the Cause of it either to *Pharnabazus*, *Lysander*, or the *Lacedæmonians*. But they say, that he kept a young Lady of a noble House, whom he had debauch'd, and that her Brothers not being able to endure the Indignity, by night set fire to the House where he dwelt, and as he endeavour'd to save himself from the Flames, slew him with their Darts, in the manner before related.

THE

CORIOLOANUS.



A Burghers sculp.

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THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARCIUS-CORIOLOANUS.

Translated from the Greek:
By *Thomas Blomer D. D.*

Volume II.

THE House of the *Marcii* in *Rome*, did produce many noble Patricians, that were Men of great Renown; and among the rest, *Ancus Marcius*, Grandson to *Numa* by his Daughter, who reign'd there after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same Family were also
G *Publius*

Publius, and *Quintus Marcius*, which two convey'd into the City the best Water they have at *Rome*, and that in the greatest quantity. As likewise *Censorinus*, who having been twice chosen Censor by the People did afterward himself perswade them to make a Law, that no body should bear the Office a second time. But *Caius Marcius* of whom I now write, being left an Orphan, and brought up under the Widowhood of his Mother, has shewn by Experience, that although the early loss of a Father may be attended with other disadvantages, yet it can hinder none from being either virtuous or eminent in the World; and that it is no obstacle to true Goodness and Excellence; however bad men are pleas'd to lay the blame of their corruption and debauched lives upon that misfortune, and the neglect of them in their Minority, as if they fell into Vice and Meanness, rather by a loose and careless Education, than degenerate and ignoble Mind. And the very Man comes in as a Witness to the truth of their Opinion, who conceive that a generous and worthy Nature, if it want Discipline and Breeding, (like a fat Soy which lyes unimprov'd and without Culture) does with its better productions bring forth a mixture of vicious and faulty things. For as the force and vigor of his Soul

and a persevering Constancy in all he undertook, did supply him with great and effective Instincts for many handsom Actions, so likewise on the other side by indulging the vehemence of his Passion, and through an obstinate stiffness which knew not how to yield, or accommodate his Humours and Sentiments to those of other men, he became harsh and disagreeable, and wholly unfit for the easiness of Friendship, and the gentler parts of Conversation; insomuch that those who did esteem his other good Qualities, and admir'd to see that he was the same equal proof against all the softnesses of Pleasure, and the hardships of Travel, and the allurements of Gain, allowing that universal Firmness of his, the respective Names of Temperance, Fortitude and Justice, yet as to the Virtues of Humanity and civil Intercourse, he was so defective therein, that they could not chuse but be disgusted at him for the hateful Severity, and unpleasant Ruggedness of his stern deportment, as being one of an over-bearing, haughty, and imperious Temper. It was therefore a thing much to be desir'd, that *Marcius* had spent some time in Philosophy, and studying the Art how he might sweeten his Address, and polish his Demeanour; for indeed men can draw no great Advantage from

the Mildness and Benignity of the Muses, than to civilize and cultivate their Nature by Rules of Prudence, and the Precepts of Morality, while they observe those Limits and Boundaries which are set by Reason, as always to embrace the sober mean, and avoid the wildness of Extremities.

Now those were the Times wherein that kind of Worth and Gallantry was in high Credit, and preferr'd at Rome above all the rest, which did appear in martial Deeds and military Achievements; as an Evidence whereof, the Latin word for Vertue came then to signify Prowess, and as if Valour and a Vertue had been the same thing, they did confine the general notion, and appropriate the common term to that particular Excellence. But Marcius having a more passionate Inclination, than any of that Age for Feats of Chivalry, began presently from his Childhood to handle Arms, and being of opinion, that adventitious Implements and artificial Arms would effect little, and be of small use to such as have not their native and congenite Weapons well fixt and prepar'd for Service, he did so exercise and inure his Body to all sorts of Activity, and the different ways of Encounter, that he became swift and nimble to pursue, and beside the lightness of a Racer, had that weight and heaviness in close Seizures and

Wrestlings with an Enemy, from which it was hard for any to get loose, or forcibly clear and disengage himself; so that his domestick Rivals, and those that stood in competition with him for true Courage and Magnanimity, being loth to own themselves inferior in that respect, were fain to excuse their Foysls and Deficiencies, by saying he had a robust, inflexible Body, that was hardned against all Fatigues, and the utmost stress of Opposition.

The first time he went out to the Wars, being yet a Stripling, was when *Tarquinius Superbus* (who had been King of Rome, but driven thence for his Pride and Lewdness) after many Skirmishes, and no fewer Defeats, did now enter upon his last Effort, and hazard all as it were upon a single Throw; for a great number of the *Latins*, and other People of *Italy*, had joyn'd their Forces, and were marching with him toward the City, as resolv'd to procure his Restoration and Settlement in the Regal Throne; but this however not so much out of a desire to serve and oblige *Tarquin*, as to gratifie their own Fear and Envy, at the growth and increase of the *Roman* Greatness, which they did intend to pull down from its late Advancements, under a pretence of raising him

him to his ancient Royalties. The Armies then being met and engag'd in a decisive Battel, which had divers Turns and Variations on both sides, *Marcus* fighting bravely in the Dictator's presence, saw a *Roman* Souldier struck down at a little distance, whom he did not abandon in that posture, but immediately stept in, and stood before the Man, and made so vigorous a defence, that he slew the Aggressor which bore furiously upon him. The General having gotten the Victory, did not forget how well he had behav'd himself, whom he therefore crown'd one of the first with a Garland of Oaken branches; for it was the *Roman* Custom thus to adorn those who had protected a Citizen; whether the Law did intend some special Honour to the Oak, in memory of the *Arcadians*, or People the Oracle had made famous by the Name of Acorn-eaters; or whether the Reason of it was, because they might easily and in all places where they fought, have plenty of Oak for that purpose; or last of all, the Oaken Wreath, being otherwise sacred to *Jupiter*, the great Guardian of their Cities, they might therefore think it the most proper Ornament for him who had preserv'd a Citizen; Beside that the Oak, as it is a Tree which bears the most and the prettiest Fruit of any that grow wild

wild and without Improvement, so likewise is it stronger than any of those which are dress'd and manur'd by us; its Acorns too were the principal Diet of the old Mortals, and the Honey which was lodg'd there, did help to make them a pleasant Liquor; yea, I may say, it furnish'd out Fowl and other Creatures for their Dainties, in producing Misselto for Birdlime, that artful Instrument to ensnare them. But that I may return from these wandring Speculations, and keep the way of my History, it is reported, that *Castor* and *Pollux* appear'd in the Battel before mention'd, and that presently after it they were seen at *Rome*, just by the Fountain where their Temple now stands, upon Horses all foaming with a white frothy Sweat, as if they had rid Post to bring tidings thither of the Victory, on which account the 15th. of *July*, (being the day of this Conquest) became a solemn Holiday to the kind and Officious Brethren.

Now from the Grace which was then done *Coriolanus*, and the manner how it did affect him, I may observe in general, That when young Men do arrive at Fame and Reputation betimes, if they happen to be of a Nature that is but slightly touch'd with Emulation, this early Attainment does soon extinguish their thirst, and satiate the desire they have for Glory; whereas the first Ho-

nours that dignifie and illustrate those who are of a more solid and weighty Mind, make them study to grow still in merit, and to shine the brighter, and are so far from dulling, that they even whet their appetite and carry them on, like a fair wind, in the pursuit of every generous thing and applauded Enterprize; while they look upon these Marks and Testimonies of their Virtue, not as a recompence receiv'd for what they have already done, but as a Pledge given by themselves of what they will perform hereafter, being asham'd now to forsake or under-live the Credit they have won, yea, not to exceed and obscure all that is gone before, by the lustre and worthiness of their following Actions. *Marcus* therefore, having a Spirit of this noble Make, was ambitious always to get the better of himself, and did nothing how extraordinary soever, but thought he was bound to out-do it at the next occasion, so that his own deeds provok'd him daily to excel, and being infinitely desirous to give some fresh Instance, and new Experiment of his prowess, he added one Exploit to another piece of Bravery, and heap'd up Trophies upon Trophies, by all which he brought in many rich Spoils from the Enemy. This also became the Matter of a glorious Contest among the Roman Generals, the latter still striving with

with the former, which of them should pay him the greatest Respect, and speak highest in his Commendation; for there being frequent Wars and numerous Conflicts in those days, *Marcus* was present at them all, and return'd back from none without Laurels and without Rewards; and whereas others made Glory the end of their daring, the end of his Glory was his Mothers gladness; for the delight she took to hear him prais'd, and to see him crown'd, and her weeping for joy in his Embraces, did render him in his own thoughts the most honourable and most happy Person in the World. An Affection or Sentiment not unlike that of *Epaminondas*, who made no scruple to profess, that he reckon'd it the greatest Felicity of his whole Life, that his Father and Mother did still survive to behold his Conduct and Victory in the Plains of *Leuctra*; he had the Advantage indeed to have both his Parents partake with him, and enjoy the pleasure of his good Fortune; but *Marcus* believing himself oblig'd to pay his Mother *Volumnia*, all that Gratitude and Duty which belong'd to his Father, had he also been alive, could never satisfy his mind, or think he did enough, in all the Consolations and Caresses she receiv'd from him, but took a Wife also at her motion and entreaty, and liv'd still with his Mother

Mother, without parting Families, who she had brought him Children. The repute of his Integrity and Courage, had at this time gain'd him a considerable Interest and Authority in *Rome*, when the Senate favouring the wealthier sort of Citizens, happen'd to be at odds and variance with the common People, who made very sad Complaints, touching that rigorous and inhuman Usage they found among the Usurers which had lent them Money; for as many as were behind with them, and had any small matter in possession, they presently stripp'd even of that little Stock, by the way of Pawns and Auctions; but such as through former Exactions were reduc'd already to extream Indigence, and had nothing more to be depriv'd of, these they led away in person, and put their Bodies under constraint, notwithstanding they did expose the Scars and Slashes of their Wounds, and shew their mangled Limbs, as a proof of that Service they had done the Publick in several Expeditions, the last whereof was against the *Sabins*, which they undertook upon a promise made by their rich Creditors, that they would treat them with more Gentleness for the future, *Marcus Valerius* the Consul, having by Order from the Senate, engag'd also for the performance of it; but seeing, that after they had fought courageously,

ously, and acquitted themselves so well in the late Action, as to vanquish the Enemy, there was however no such Moderation and Forbearance us'd, as they had reason to expect, since the Senate also did pretend to remember nothing of that Agreement, and sate without testifying the least concern to see them dragg'd away like Slaves, and their Goods seiz'd upon as formerly, there began now to be open Mutinies, and dangerous Factions in the City, insomuch that the Enemy being aware of that popular Tumult, did invade and lay waste the Countrey; upon which when the Consuls gave notice, that all who were of an age to bear Arms, should make their personal Appearance, and no body for all that did regard the Summons, the chief Magistrates then coming to consult what course should be taken, were again of several minds, and still differ'd in opinion: for some thought it most advisable to comply a little, and yield somewhat in favour of the poor *Plebeians*, by relaxing their over-strain'd Rights, and that excessive ridgedness of the Law, whereas others did withstand this Proposal, but *Marcus* in particular, and with more vehemence than the rest, alledging that the business of money on either side was not the main thing in question, or to be most minded, but he lookt upon this

this disorderly proceeding as an *Essay* and *Rudiment* of the Peoples Insolence, and their hardiness to affront and defie the stablished Laws, that it would therefore become the wisdom of the Government to stop them in their first Career, and stifle those unruly heats that were now flaming out into a Combustion.

There had been frequent Assemblies of the whole Senate, and that within a small compass of time, about this ticklish Affair, but without any certain issue or final resolution: the poor Commonalty perceiving there was like to be no redress of their grievances, came suddenly together in a body, and after some warm discourses among themselves, forsook the City with one accord, and marching up that Ascent which is now called the *Holy Mount*, they sat down by the River *Anien*, doing no sort of violence or seditious outrage all the while, only they made loud and heavy outcries as they went along, that the rich men, having endeavoured it of old, did now actually expell and thrust them out of *Rome*, but that *Italy* however would every where afford them the benefit of Air and Water for the small remainder of their days, and a place of burial, when they dy'd, which was all they could expect by their continuance in the City, beside

beside the priviledge of being cut and kill'd in a time of War for the defence of those cruel Banquiers. The Senate apprehending the dangerous consequence of this Rupture, sent away the gravest of their own Order, and such as had been most moderate, and were most gracious among the people, to treat with them.

Menenius Agrippa their chief Spokesman, after much Courtship to the Rabble, and no less freedom us'd on behalf of the Senate, came at length to conclude his discourse with this celebrated Fable. *It once happen'd*, says he, *that all the other Members of a man fell to mutiny against the Stomach, which they accus'd as the only idle uncontributing part in the whole Body, while the rest were put to mighty hardships, and the expence of much labour to supply that and minister to its Appetites: but the provident and painful Stomach hearing such a senseless charge brought against her, could not choose but laugh at the ignorance and ill-breeding of those dissatisfied members, who either wanted the wit to understand, or else the civility to acknowledge that she receives the nourishment into her Office out of meer charity to the publick, which she returns ever with advantage, that being prepared by the art of her Chymistry, it may pass and circulate to all, and so furnish*

with them with spirits for life and action. Now this is exactly the case betwixt you and the Senate, O ye Roman Citizens, and the very image of its care and kind dealing as in your regard; for there they mingle counsel and digest matters, which become the strength and maintenance of the whole state, and that secretly disperse and bring home all manner of support and convenience to every one of you.

This ingenious and sensible representation of things, did pretty well pacify and reconcile the Multitude, the Senate too having granted their request for an annual choice of five Patrons or Protectors of such among them as should need assistance, which Patrons are now called the *Tribunes of the People*; the two first they pitcht upon were *Junius Brutus* and *Sicinius Velutus* the prime Authors of that Apostacy.

The City being thus united, the Common stood presently to their Arms, and follow'd their Commanders to the War with great alacrity. As for *Marcus*, though he was not a little vext himself to see the Popular prevail so far, and get ground of the Senators; and might observe many other *Patricians* have the same dislike of their late Concessions, yet he besought them after all not to yield at least to the common people in that zeal and forwardness they now shew'd for their Countries service, but make

make it evidently appear that they were superiour to them, not so much for their power and riches, as their heroick minds and noble resolutions.

The Romans were now at War with a Nation call'd the *Volscians*, whose principal Seat or City of the greatest note and eminence, was that of *Corioli*; when therefore *Cominius* the Consul had invested this important Place, the rest of the *Volscians*, fearing it should be taken, musterd up what ever force they could make from all parts, in order to relieve it, designing to give the Romans Battel before the City, and so attack them on both sides: *Cominius* to avoid this Inconvenience, divided his Army, marching himself with one body to encounter those *Volscians* that made towards him from without, and leaving *Titus Larcus* (the bravest Roman of his time) to command the other, and still carry on the Siege. Those within *Corioli* despising now the smallness of that number, made a brisk sally upon them, wherein they prevail'd at first, and pursu'd the Romans into their Trenches: Here it was that *Marcus* flying out with a slender Company, and cutting those in pieces that were nearest and did first engage him, oblig'd the other Assailants to slacken the speed they were

were making to fall on, and then with a strong forcible Cry, did as it were sound in the *Romans* to renew the Skirmish; for he was a man (that which *Cato* required in a Warriour) not only dreadful to meet with in the Field by reason of his hand and strokes, but insupportable to an Enemy for the very tone and accent of his voice, and the sole terror of his aspect. Divers of his own party then rallying and making up to him, the Enemies soon retreated for fear of a smarter on-set from those they had but now routed; but *Marcus* not content to see them draw off and retire, prest hard up on the Rear, and drove them, as they fled away in haste, to the very Gates of their City; where perceiving the *Romans* to fall back from the pursuit, beaten off by a multitude of Darts pour'd in upon them from the Walls, and that none of his followers had the hardiness to think of falling in Pell-mell among the Runnagates, or forcing an entrance into the City, which had a strong Garrison arm'd at all points, and ready to give them a warm reception; he was however instant with, and did mightily encourage them by his words and actions, crying out, That Fortune had now set open *Corioli*, not so much to shelter the Vanquish'd, as to receive the Conquerours;

rours; which he had no sooner spoken, but seconded by a few that were willing to venture with him, he bore along the Croud, and made good his passage, and thrust himself into the Gate through the midst of them, no body daring to resist, or sustain the violence of his first impressions; but after he had lookt well about him, and could discern but a very small number of Assistants who had slipt in to engage in that hazardous service, and saw that Friends and Enemies were now mingled together, he was said to commence a Combate within the Town, wherein he perform'd the most extraordinary and incredible things, as well for the mightiness of his force, as the nimbleness of his motion, and the audacity of his mind, breaking thorough all he made any attempts upon, constraining some to shift for themselves in the farthest corners of the City, and others to throw down their Weapons as despairing they should be able to oppose him: By all which he gave *Titus Lartius* a fair occasion to bring in the rest of the *Romans* with ease and safety.

Corioli being thus surpriz'd and taken, the greater part of the Souldiers fell presently to spoil and pillage it, and were employ'd still in Rapine, or carrying off their Booty: that which *Marcus* was highly offended at, and reproacht them for it as a dishonourable

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and

and unworthy thing, that when the Consul and their fellow-Citizens had now perhaps encountred the other *Volsicians*, and were hazarding their lives in Battel, they should basely mispend the time in running up and down for Pelf and Treasure, and under a pretence of enriching themselves, decline the present jeopardy; yet for all he could alledge, there were not many that would leave plundering for a share in glory: Putting himself then at the head of those generous Spirits that were still ready to deserve well, he took that Road where the Consuls Army had marcht before him, often exciting his Companions, and beseeching them as they went along that they would not falter and give out, praying often to the Gods too, that he might be so happy as to arrive before the Fight was over, and come seasonably up to assist *Cominius*, and partake in the peril of that action.

It was customary with the *Romans* of that Age, when they stood in Battel-array, and were now taking up their Bucklers, and girding their Gowns about them, to make at the same time an unwritten Will or meer verbal Testament, and to name who should be their Heirs in the hearing of three or four Witnesses: In this posture did *Marcus* find them at his arrival, the Enemy being advanced within view.

The

They were not a little disorder'd by his first appearance, seeing him all over bloody and sweating as he was, and attended with a small Train; but when he hastily made up to the Consul with an air of gladness in his looks, giving him his hand, and recounting to him how the City had been taken; when they saw *Cominius* also embrace and salute *Marcus* upon that discourse, then every one took heart afresh, and both such as were near enough to hear the Relation of his Success, and those that, being at a greater distance, could only guess what had happen'd by the manner of their greeting, besought the Consul with a loud voice, that he would lead them on to engage the Enemy: but, before he did that, *Marcus* desired to know of him, how the *Volsicians* had dispos'd the order of their Battalia, where they had plac'd the Men of Metal, and the more stout and pugnacious part of their whole Army; who answering, that he took those Troops of the *Antiates* in the middle Rank to be their prime Warriors, and that would yield to none for Prowess and Bravery; let me then demand and obtain of you, says *Marcus*, that I may be directly confronted to these daring People. The Consul then favour'd him in that request, admiring much the forwardness and ardor of his mind; when the Conflict was begun by darting at each

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each

each other, and *Marcus* fall'd out before the rest, the Vant-guard of the *Volscians* was not able to make head against him, for wheresoever he fell in, he presently broke their Ranks, and made a Lane through them; but the Parties turning again, and enclosing him on each side with their Weapons, the Consul, who observ'd the danger he was in, dispatch'd some of the choicest Men he had for his speedy rescue. The Dispute then growing warm and sharp about *Marcus*, and many falling dead in a little space, the *Romans* bore so hard upon the Enemies, and press'd them with such violence, that they were forc'd at length to abandon their Stations, and to quit the Field; and going now to prosecute the Victory, they besought *Marcus*, tir'd out with his Toyls, and faint and heavy through the loss of Blood, that he would retire himself to the Camp; but he replying, that Weariness was a thing which did not besit Conquerors, joyn'd with them in the pursuit; the rest of the *Volscian* Army was in like manner defeated, a great multitude being slain, and no less taken. The day after, *Marcus*, with a numerous Assembly of other Persons, appearing at the Consul's Tent, he mounted up to his Chair of State, and having render'd all due Gratulation and Acknowledgment to the Gods for the prosperity of that Enter-

The Vol-
scian Army
is routed.

prize

prize, he applies himself immediately to *Marcus*, and first of all he made an admirable Panegyrick upon his rare Exploits, which he had partly been an Eye-witness of himself in the late Battel, and had partly known from the Testimony of *T. Lartius*, reporting what had been done at the Siege and Conquest of *Corioli*. And then he requir'd him to choose a tenth part of all the Treasure, and Horses, and Captives, that had fallen into their hands, before any division should be made to others; beside which, he made him the Present of a goodly Horse with Trappings and Military Ornaments, as a mark and cognizance of his signal Fortitude; which being highly applauded by the whole Army, *Marcus* stept forth, and declar'd his thankful acceptance of that single Horse, and how extreamly satisfi'd he was with the Praise and Elogy which his General had vouchsaf'd to bestow upon him, but as for other things, which he look'd upon rather as Mercenary Accrue-ments, than any significations of Honour, he did wave them all, and should be content that his proportion of such Rewards might not exceed that of the meanest Souldier. *I have only, says he, one singular Grace to beg, and this, Sir, I hope you will not deny me: There was a certain hospitable and courteous Friend of mine among the Volscians, a Person of great*

The tenth
part of the
Spoils of-
fer'd to
Marcus.

He nobly
refuses 'em.

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Probity

Probity and Vertue, who is now become a Prisoner, and from the Wealth and Freedom wherein he liv'd, reduc'd to Poverty and present Servitude; the man has fallen under many Misfortunes, but he would think it a sufficient Deliverance, if my Intercession shall redeem him from this one at least, that he may not be sold as a common Slave. Now so handsom a Refusal in *Marcus*, was follow'd still with louder Acclamations, than the Consuls Offer had been before, and he had many more Admirers of that generous Resolution whereby he conquer'd Avarice, than of the warlike Stoutness he had shewn in subduing Enemies; for those very persons who did conceive some Envy and Despight, to see him thus infinitely honour'd, could not choose then but acknowledge, that he was worthy to receive the greatest things, even for his noble declining the reception of them; and they were more deeply in love with that Vertue of his, which made him despise so many fair Advantages, than any of his former Actions; whereby he did so well deserve they should be conferr'd on him; for it is much more commendable to be dextrous and skilful in the use of Riches than of Arms, and yet a man shall have higher Veneration still, who does not want or desire Money, than he that understands how to use and employ it as he ought.

When

When the noise of Approbation and Applause ceased, *Cominius* turning to the Company: *There is no way, says he, fellow-Souldiers, to force and obtrude those other Gifts of ours, on a person who seems to be above such Gratuities, and is so unwilling to accept them; let us therefore give him that which is so proper and suitable to the Service he has done, that he cannot well reject it; let us pass a Vote, I mean, that he shall hereafter be call'd Coriolanus, unless you think that his performance at Corioli has it self prevented us in decreeing him the priviledge of that Title.* Hence therefore he came to acquire his third Name of *Coriolanus*; by which it is manifest, that *Caius* was a personal proper Name, that the second or Sirname of *Marcus*, was a Name in common to his House and Family, and that the third *Roman* Appellative was a peculiar Note of distinction, drawn afterwards and impos'd either from some particular Fact, or Fortune, or Signature, or Vertue of him that bore it; for thus also the *Grecians* in old time, were wont to fix an additional Character on their great Men, for any famous Atchievement, such as *Soter*, that is, a preserver, and *Callinicus*, one renown'd for his Victories; or to express something remarkable in their shape and figure, as *Physcon* a Gorge-belly, and *Grypus*, Eagle-nos'd; and then upon the account of their Vertue

The Name of Coriolanus is given to him.

and Kindness, as *Euergetes*, a Benefactor, and *Philadelphus*, a lover of his Brethren; or because of their unusual Felicity and good Fortune, as *Eudæmon*, the prosperous or happy, an Epithite given to the second Prince of the Race of *Battus*; yea, and several Monarchs have had Names appropriated to them in reproach and mockery, as *Antigonus* that of *Dodon*, or one that was liberal only in the future, since he did always promise, but never came to performance; and *Ptolemy* who was styled *Lamyrus* for the fond opinion he had of his own wit and pleasantness; which latter kind of denomination by way of railery the Romans did very much delight in; for one of the *Metelli* was surnam'd by them *Diadematus*, because he had for a long time together walkt about with his head bound up by reason of an Ulcer in his Forehead.

Another of the same Family they call'd *Celer*, i. e. the swift or nimble, for that expedition and dispatch he made to procure them a Funeral Entertainment of so many pair of Gladiators within a few days after his Fathers death, the hast and magnificence of which provision was thought very strange and extraordinary for so short a time: there are some that even at this day derive Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; one for instance, who happens to be born when his

his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term *Proculus*, but if after his decease, they style him *Posthumus*; and when two Twins come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor of them is call'd *Vopiscus*; nay, they use to denominate not only their *Sylla's* and *Nigers*, that is, men of a pimpled or swarthy Visage, but their *Cæci* and *Claudii*, the blind and the lame from such corporal blemishes and defects; thus wisely accustoming their people not to reckon either the loss of sight, or any other bodily misfortune, as a matter of ignominy and disgrace to them, but that they should answer to such Names without shame or confusion, no otherwise than the most familiar and civil Compellations: But to treat of these things is not so proper to the Argument I have now in hand.

The War against the *Volsians* was no sooner at an end, but the popular *Triunes* and factious Orators fell again to revive domestick troubles, and raise another Sedition, without any new cause of complaint or just grievance to proceed upon; but those very mischiefs that did unavoidably ensue from their former differences and contests, were then made use of as a ground and pretence to quarrel with the Nobility: The greatest part of their Arable Land had been left unfown

sown and without tillage, and the time of War allowing them no means or leisure to fetch in Provision from other Countries, there was an extreme scarcity of things in *Rome*: The Movers of the People then observing that there was neither Corn brought into the Market, or if there had been Grain to supply them, yet they wanted Money to buy it, began to calumniate the Wealthy with false stories, and whisper it about, as if they out of an old grudge, and to revenge themselves, had purposely contrived it thus to bring a Famine upon them. While these things were in agitation, there came an Embassie from the *Velitani*, who delivered up their City to the *Romans*, desiring that they would send some new Inhabitants to people it, inasmuch as a late Pestilential Disease had swept away so many of the Natives, and made such havock and destruction among them, that there was hardly a tenth part remaining of their whole Community. Now this sad necessity of the *Velitani*, was consider'd by the more prudent sort as a seasonable relief unto themselves, and seemed to happen very opportunely for the present state of their Affairs; for not only the dearth of Victuals had made it needful to ease and unburden the City of its superfluous Members, but they were

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in hope also at the same time, and by this means to scatter and dissolve the Faction which now threatned them, through a purgation and discharge of the more restless and inflamed Party, that like a redundancy of morbid humours, put them all into so dangerous a ferment. Such as these therefore the Consuls singled out to supply the desolation at *Velitræ*, and gave notice to others that they should be ready to march against the *Volscians*, which was politickly design'd to prevent intestine Broyls by employing them abroad. And there was some reason to presume, that, when as well the rich, as the poor, those of the *Plebeian* side, and the *Patrician* Interest, should be mingled again in the same Army, and the same Camp, and engage in one common service and jeopardy for the Publick, it would mutually dispose them to reconciliation and friendship, and to live upon gentler terms, and after a more sweet and benign fashion with each other.

But *Sisinius* and *Brutus*, a couple of seditious *Tribunes*, did presently interpose here, crying out, That the *Consuls* went about to disguise the most cruel and barbarous action in the World, under that so mild and plausible name of a *Colony*, for no other end, but that they might precipitate so many poor Citizens,

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as it were, into the very gulf of Perdition, by removing them to settle in an infectious Air, and a place that was covered with noysoine Carcasses, and sending them to sojourn, not only under a strange Deity, but an angry and revengeful Genius; and then, as if it would not satisfy their hatred, to destroy some by hunger, and expose others to the mercy of a Plague, they must proceed to involve them also in a needless War of their own choosing, that all other Calamities might fall upon the City at once, because it did refuse to bear that of being any longer in slavery to the rich.

By which kind of discourses, the people were so fill'd with aversion and insolence, that none of them would appear upon the Consular Summons to be listed for the War, and they did as little relish the Proposal for a new Plantation; This put the Senate into such perplexity that it was utterly at a loss what to say, or do. But *Marcus*, who began now to swell and bear himself higher than ordinary, and to take more Spirit and Confidence from his noble Actions; being admired too by the best and greatest men of *Rome*, did openly oppose the harangues and practices of these Popular Incendiaries; so that in spite of them a Colony was dispatcht to *Vellitra*, those that were chosen by lot, being oblig'd

oblig'd to depart and repair thither upon high Penalties; but when he saw them obstinately persist in refusing to Inroll themselves for the *Volsian* Service, *Marcus* then muster'd up his own Clients, and as many others as cou'd be wrought upon by persuasion, and with these he made an inroad into the Territories of the *Antiates*, where finding a considerable quantity of Corn, and lighting upon much booty both of Cattel and Prisoners, he reserved nothing for himself in private, but return'd safe and empty to *Rome*, while those that ventur'd out with him were seen loaden with rich Pillage, and driving their Prey before them; which made the rest that staid at home repent of their perverseness, and envy such as had sped so well by the Enterprize; yea, and to be aggrieved and repine at *Marcus*, and the power and reputation he still got, as that which did encrease and rise only to the lessening and ruine of the Peoples Interest. It was not long after that he stood for the Consulship, when the people however did relent and incline to favour him, as being sensible what a shame it wou'd be to repulse and affront a man of his Family and Courage, and that too after he had done them so many signal Services, and been the Author of so much good and benefit.

Coriolanus invades the Antiates.

Stands for the Consulship.

benefit to the Publick; for it was the custom of those that pretended to Offices and Dignities among them, to solicit and care for the people at their General Assemblies, clad only in a loose Gown without any Coat under it, either to promote their Supplications the better, by suing in such an humble Habit, or that such as had receiv'd Wounds might thus more readily demonstrate the visible tokens of their fortitude: for it was not from any suspicion the people then had of bribery and corruption, that they required such as did petition them to appear ungirt and open without any close Garment; for it was much later, and many Ages after this that buying and selling crept in at their Elections, and Money was an Ingredient into the Publick Suffrages; but Gifts and Presents had no sooner shewn what influence they had, and what Parties they could make for choosing Magistrates, but the same practice came to attempt their *Tribunals*, and even attack their Camps, till by hiring the Valiant, and enslaving Iron to Silver, it grew Master of the State, and turn'd their Common-wealth into a Monarchy; for it was well and truly said by him, who did affirm that the person who began to give Treats and Largeſſes to the people, was he that first depriv'd them

them

them of their strength and power; but the mischief it seems stole secretly in and by little and little, not being presently discern'd and taken notice of at *Rome*; for it is not certainly known who the Man was that did there first either bribe the Citizens, or corrupt the Bench; but in *Athens* it is said, that *Anytus* the Son of *Anthemion*, was the first that gave Money to the Judges toward the latter end of the *Peloponnesian* War, he being then accus'd of Treachery, for delivering up the Fort of *Pylus*; while those of the pure golden kind did as yet preside and give sentence in the *Roman* Courts: *Marcus* therefore, as the fashion of pretenders was, laying open the scars and gashes that were still extant in his body, from those innumerable Skirmishes and Conflicts wherein he had successively engag'd, and always signaliz'd himself for seventeen years together; they had a certain reverence for his Virtue, and told one another that they ought in common modesty create him *Consul*; but when the day of Election was now come, and *Marcus* appear'd at the place where they were to give their Votes with a pompous Train of Senators attending him, and all the *Patricians* did manifestly express a greater concern, and acted more vigorously in his particular, than they

they had ever done before on the like occasion; the Commons then fell off again from all the kindness they had conceiv'd for him, and in stead of their late Benevolence, were carried to Indignation and Envy on the sudden: the Malignity of which Passions was assisted too by the general fear they were in, that if a man who was clearly to have the Senate govern, and was so mightily respected by the Nobles, should be invested with all the Power which that Office would give him, he might employ it to their prejudice, and utterly deprive the People of that Liberty which was yet left them: Being therefore so ill affected, and reasoning thus among themselves, in conclusion, they rejected *Marcus*; but when two other Persons were declared *Consuls*, the thing was taken very hainously by the Senate, as reckoning that the Indignity of such a Slur did reflect rather upon it self than *Marcus*, who for his part was more sensibly nettled at their proceeding, and cou'd not bear that disgrace with any temper or patience, having commonly us'd himself to follow the more wrathful and sticking motions of the Soul, as if there were somewhat of Grandeur and bravery in those Transports, without a due mixture of that gravity and meekness, which are the effects of Reason and Discipline, and Ver-

tues

ties so necessary for Civil Conduct, and not considering that whoever undertakes to manage publick Business and Converſe with men, should above all things avoid opiniateneſs and pertinacy in his own way, which (as *Plato* ſpeaks) belong to the Family of Solitude, and become a lover of that forbearance; and thoſe enduring qualities that are ſo much derided by ſome ridiculous perſons; whereas *Marcus* being plain and artleſs, but ever rigid and inflexible, and ſtrongly perſwaded that to prevail and vanquiſh all he had to do with, was the proper work of Fortitude, and not rather a weakneſs and effeminaſy of mind, which puſhes out Fury from within, like the ſwelling of a bruited and painful part, ſlung away in great diſorder, and bitterly enrag'd againſt the People: Thoſe alſo of the young ſparkiſh Gallants that did moſt flouriſh and flutter it in the City upon the ſcore of their Noble Birth, as they had been always marvellouſly devoted to his Inter-eſt, ſo adhering to him at that time, and unhappily preſent when he was thus ſlighted, did by their Reſentments and Condolence much aggravate the Baſtle, and blow up his heat into a flame; for he was not only their Captain and Leader, but a kind Inſtructor of the Roman Gentlemen, when they went out with him; as to all that did belong unto the Art of

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War;

War; and taught them a true vertuous Emulation, how they shou'd mutually exalt, and without Envy extol one another for any brave Atchievement.

A great quantity of Corn brought to Rome.

In the midst of these Distempers, a great deal of Corn happen'd to come into Rome, a considerable part whereof had been bought up in Italy, which was equall'd by another Stock arriving from Syracuse, as a Present from Gelo, the King of Sicily; insomuch that many began now to hope well of their Affairs, supposing the City by this means wou'd be deliver'd at once both of its Wars and Discord. A Council therefore being presently held, the People came flocking about the Senate-house, and did there eagerly attend the issue of that Deliberation, expecting that the Market Rates wou'd be more gentle and easie, for that which shou'd be expos'd to sale, and also that which was sent in as a Gift, shou'd come on free cost, and be distributed gratis among them, for there were some within who advis'd the Senate thus to moderate the price of one, and give such Orders for the disposal of the other. But Marcius standing up, did sharply inveigh against those who spoke in favour of the Multitude, calling them Flatterers of the base Rabble, but down-right Traytors to the Senate, and alledging that by such mean and foolish Gratifications, they did nothing else but

Coriolanus's Speech against his being distributed among the People.

cherish

those ill seeds of Boldness and Pettulance that had been sown among the People, against themselves and to their own prejudice, which they shou'd have done well to observe and stifle at their first appearance, and not have suffer'd the Plebeians to grow so strong, by giving such Authority to their Tribunes; for now they were become formidable, through a compliance with their humour in all they did demand and insist upon, and for want of constraining them to any thing which was contrary to their own will; so that living, as it were, in Anarchy, they wou'd no longer obey the Consuls, or acknowledge any superiour Magistrate, but the Heads and Leaders of their own Faction. And when things are come to such a pass, for us to sit here, and decree Largeesses and Dividends for them, like those Grecians where the Populace is supream and absolute, what wou'd it be else, says he, but to foster and supply their Stubbornness for the common ruine of us all? for sure they will not look upon these Liberalities as a Reward of publick Service, which themselves know they have so oft deserted; nor yet of those Apostacies and Departures from us, whereby they did openly renounce and betray their Countrey, and much less of the Calumnies and Slanders they have been always so ready to entertain, against the just and honourable

Proceedings of this Senate, but will rather conclude that a Bounty, which seems to have no other visible Cause or Reason, must needs be the effect of our Fear and Flattery; so that hoping we shall go on to yield and condescend still to any further Submissions, which may serve to pacifie and gain them, they will come to no end of their Disobedience, nor ever cease from Riots and Up-
 roars, and seditious Practices. It is therefore a direct madness in us to be so tame and coming, as we have hitherto shewn our selves; nay, if we had but the Wisdom and Resolution which becomes those of our Rank and Order, we shou'd never rest till we had retriev'd that Tribunitian Power they have extorted from us, as being a plain subversion of the Consulship, and a perpetual ground of separation in our City, that is no longer one as heretofore, but has thereby receiv'd such a Wound and Rupture, as, for ought I can foresee, is never likely to close and unite again, or suffer us to be of a joynt Body and the same Mind, and so much in our right wits, as to leave heightening our own Distempers, & being a Plague and Torment to each other.

Marcius discoursing many things to this purpose, did strangely inspire the ^{brisk} Youngsters with the same furious Sentiments, and had almost all the wealthy on his side, who cry'd him up as the only Person
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their City had, that was both insuperable by Force and above Flattery; but some of the more grave and elderly sort did oppose him herein, suspecting the ill consequence of his Procedure, as indeed there came no good of it; for the *Tribunes* that were present at this Consultation, perceiving how the Proposal of *Marcius* took and carry'd it against them, ran out into the Croud with Exclamations, calling on the *Plebeians* to stand together, and come in to their assistance. The Assembly then being grown tumultuous, and the sum of what *Marcius* had spoken, having been reported to them, the Rabble fell into such a Rage, that they were ready to break in upon the Senate; but the *Tribunes* prevented that, by laying all the blame on *Coriolanus*, whom therefore they cited by their Messengers to come before them, and give an account of his late violent Oration; and when he contemptuously repuls'd the Officers who brought him such a Summons, they came presently themselves with the *Ædiles*, or Overseers of the Market, designing to carry him away by force, and accordingly began to lay hold on his Person; but the Nobility striking in to his rescue, did not only thrust off the *Tribunes*, but also beat the *Ædiles* that were their Seconds in the Quarrel, and then the Night approaching, put an end to
 their

*The People
 rise against
 him.*

their present Scuffle. But as soon as it was day, the Consuls observing the People to be highly exasperated, and that they ran from all quarters, and met together in the Market-place, were afraid for the whole City, lest the business shou'd come to a general Up-roar; so that convening the Senate afresh, they desir'd them to advise how by gentle Speeches and more benign Edicts, they might best qualifie and compose that incensed Multitude: for if they did wisely consider the state of Things, they must needs find that it was no longer time to stand upon terms of Reputation, and that the matter of this Contest was not a meer point of Glory, but that such a ticklish and critical Conjunction did oblige them to kind Methods, and require temperate and good-natur'd Counsels. The majority therefore of the Senators submitting to new Measures and a milder Sentence, the Consuls proceeded to bespeak and pacifie the People in the best manner they were able, answering gently to such Imputations and Charges as had been cast upon the Senate, and using much Tenderness and Modesty in those Admonitions and Reproofs they gave them for their late exorbitant Demeanor. And as for a supply of the Market with Provisions, or the moderate and reasonable Rates of what shou'd be there expos'd to Sale, they said, there shou'd be no difference

ference at all between them upon that Subject. When a great part of the Commonalty was grown cool, and it appear'd from their orderly and peaceful Audience, that they had been wrought upon, and very much appeas'd by what was spoken, the *Tribunes* standing up declar'd in the name of the People, that since the Senate was pleas'd to act soberly, and do them Reason, they likewise shou'd be ready to condescend in all things that were fair and equitable on their side; however they did peremptorily insist that *Marcus* shou'd give in his Answer to the several particulars he was accus'd of; as first, whether he cou'd deny that he did instigate and provoke the Senate to confound the Government, and dissolve the Authority of the People; and in the next place, if being call'd to account for it, he did not insolently slight and disobey their Summons; and last of all, whether by the blows and other publick affronts given to the *Ædiles*, he did not as much as in him lay, introduce and commence a Civil War, and become a Leader to the rest of the Citizens to take up Arms one against another.

Now these Articles were brought in against him, with a design either to humble *Marcus*, and make it appear he was one of a mean Spirit, if contrary to his nature he

should now Court and Carefs the people; or, if he did still maintain the usual haughtiness of his mind, (which they did rather hope and expect as guessing rightly at the man) he might work up their Choller to such a height, that they shou'd remain implacable, and never more be reconcil'd to him.

He came therefore as it were to make his Apology, and clear himself from the Impeachment; in which belief the People kept silence, and gave him a quiet hearing: But when, in stead of the submissive and deprecatory language was expected from him; he began to use not only an offensive kind of freedom, wherein he seem'd rather to accuse then apologize; but, as well by the tone and fierceness of his Voice, as the stern and fearless air of his Countenance, did demonstrate a security that was not far from disdain and contempt of them, the whole multitude then was ruffled and incens'd to purpose; and gave sufficient indication of their uneasiness and disgust, and that they cou'd no longer endure the pride and arrogance of such a scornful Orator; hereupon *Sicinnius* the most hardy and violent of all their *Tribunes*, after a little private Conference with the rest of his Collegues, did solemnly pronounce before them all that *Marcus* was condemn'd to die by the *Tribunes* of

Sicinnius
the *Tribune*
pronounces
Sentence of
Death against
Coriolanus.

of the People, and without more ado, bid the *Aediles* hurry him up to the *Tarpeian* Rock, and presently throw him headlong from that precipice; but when they, in compliance with their Order, came to seize upon his body, the action did appear horrible and insolent to many even of the *Plebeian* Party; but the *Patricians* being wholly beside themselves, and infinitely affected with it, began to cry out for help; and while some made use of their hands to hinder the Arrest, and surrounding *Marcus*, got him in among them, others stretcht out theirs unto the multitude, beseeching them that they would not proceed to such furious Extremities; but in so great a hurly-burly and tumult, there was no good to be done by words and out-crys, till at length the Friends and Acquaintance of the *Tribunes* wisely perceiving how impossible it would be to carry off *Marcus* to punishment without much bloodshed and slaughter of the Nobility, perswaded them to take off that which was unusual and odious therein, and that they would not dispatch him by such a sudden violence, or without regular Process and the due Forms of Justice, but refer what did concern the life of so eminent a Person to the general Suffrage of the People: *Sicinnius* then after a little sober pause, turning to the *Patricians*, demanded what their

their meaning was thus forcibly to rescue *Marcus* out of the Peoples hands as they were going to punish him for such high Misdemeanours; when it was reply'd by them on the other side, and the question put, yet rather, how came it into your mind? and what is it you design, thus to hale one of the chief and the worthiest men of *Rome* to such a barbarous and illegal Execution, and not allow him so much as a free Tryal, which is the right and priviledge of the meanest Citizen? Very well, said *Siccinnius*, that be all, it shall be no ground of your squabblings and factious differences with the People, which grants all you require as to this particular; namely, that your swaggering Hero may be judg'd and sentenc'd according to the course of Law: And as for you, Sir, directing his speech to *Marcus*, we assign you the third Term of Judicature which shall next ensue, to make your appearance and defence in, and to try if you can satisfie the *Roman* Citizens of your Innocence, who will thoroughly examine the Case, and then put it to a Vote, which shall decide your doom. The Noble-men were content with such a Truce and respite for that time, and gladly return'd home; having weather'd the present storm, and brought off *Marcus* in safety.

During

During the Interval of that appointment, (for the *Romans* hold their Sessions every Ninth day, which from thence are call'd *Nundinae* in *Latine*) there fell out a War with the *Antiates*, which, because it was like to be of some continuance, gave them hope they might one way or other elude the Judgment, as presuming the People wou'd become mild and tractable, and that their Indignation must needs lessen and languish by degrees in so long a space, if it did not totally cease while they were taken up with the business of that Enterprize; but when contrary to expectation; they quickly made an agreement with those of *Antium*, and the Army came back to *Rome*, the *Patricians* were again in great perplexity about the affair of *Marcus*, and had frequent Meetings and Consultations among themselves, the subject whereof was, how things might be so order'd, that they shou'd neither abandon him, nor yet give an occasion to those that did influence the People to put them into new disorders. Now *Appius Claudius*, whom they reckon'd among those Senators that were most of all averse to the Popular Interest, made a solemn Declaration, and told them before hand, that the Senate wou'd utterly destroy it self, and betray the Government if they should once suffer the People

People to become their Judges, and assume the Authority of pronouncing Capital Sentence upon any of the *Patricians*; but then the most aged and most inclin'd to Popularity, did alledge on the other side, and deliver it as their Opinion that the People wou'd not be so harsh and severe upon them, as some were pleas'd to imagine, but rather become more gentle and courteous through the concession of that Power, since it was not their contempt of the Senate, but the fear of being despis'd by it, which made them pretend to such a Prerogative of judging, the allowance whereof wou'd be a Testimony of Respect, and a means of Consolation to them; insomuch, that at the very time of receiving a liberty to Vote in these Cases, they wou'd presently dismiss and let fall their Animosities and Displeasures.

When therefore *Coriolanus* saw that the Senate was in no little pain and suspense upon his account, divided as it were betwixt the kindness they had for him, and their apprehensions from the People, he desir'd to know of the *Tribunes*, what the Crimes were they did intend to charge him with, and what the Heads of that Indictment they wou'd oblige him to plead to before the People; and being told by them, that he was to be Impeacht for a tyrannical

tyrannical Usurpation, and that they wou'd prove him guilty of designing to introduce Arbitrary Government; Stepping forth hereupon, let me go then, says he, to clear my self from that Imputation before an Assembly of them, and as I do freely expose my person to any sort of Cognizance touching this Article, so neither will I refuse any kind of Punishment whatsoever, if I be convicted of it; only, says he, let what you now mention, be made the true Title of my Accusation, and be sure you do not falsifie or impose upon the Senate in this matter: when they gave consent thereto, and promis'd they wou'd stick to that as the chief ground of their prosecution; he came to his Tryal upon these terms. But the People being met together, the *Tribunes*, contrary to all former practice, did extort and obtain first, that Voices shou'd be given, not according to their Hundreds, but their Tribes; by which Inversion of Order, the indigent and factious Rabble, that had no respect for Honesty and Justice, and wou'd be sure to carry it by Number at the Poll, were to have a Precedency in Voting before the rich and eminent, and military sort of men, who did serve and support the Publick with their Lives and Fortunes: And then in the next place, whereas they had engag'd

gag'd to prosecute *Marcus* upon no other head but that of Tyranny (which cou'd never be made out against him) they did wave and relinquish this Plea, and instead thereof, fell to repeat and aggravate some words of his which had been formerly spoken in the Senate; as that he did there oppose and dissuade an abatement of the price of Corn, but advise and encourage them to resume the *Tribunitian* Power; adding further as a new Impeachment, the distribution that was made by him of the spoyl and booty he had taken from the *Antiates*, when he over-run their Country, which upon his own head, and to gain the Souldiery, he had divided among those that were readiest to follow him; whereas it ought rather to have been brought into the publick Store-house, and dispos'd of by Authority of the Senate for the common Interest; which last Accusation did, they say, more surprize and discompose *Marcus* than all the rest, as not expecting he shou'd ever be question'd upon that subject, and therefore less provided to give a plausible and satisfactory Answer to it on the sudden; but when, by way of excuse, he began to magnifie the Merits of those who had been Partakers with him in the Action, such as staid at home being more numerous than

the

the other, and not enduring to hear them commended, did so disturb him by the noise they made, that he cou'd not proceed upon that Argument: In conclusion, when they came to Vote, there were three intire Tribes that did condemn him more than those that gave their Suffrage in his Favour, and the Penalty they adjudg'd him to, was perpetual banishment. The Sentence ^{He is banished.} of his Condemnation being pronounc'd, the People went away with greater joy and triumph, and exaltation of mind, then they had ever shewn for any Victory against their Enemies: But the Senate was all in heaviness, and a deep dejection, repenting now and vexed at the very Soul that they had not done and suffer'd all things rather than give way to the insolence of the People, and permit them to assume and abuse so great an Authority: there was no need then to look upon their habit or other marks of distinction, for discerning a Senator from any vulgar Citizen, for it did plainly appear that the brisk and jocund were all *Plebeians*, and you might presently know a Noble-man by his sad Countenance; only *Marcus* himself was not struck or humbled in the least by that severe Judgment which had past upon him, appearing still by his gesture and motion, and aspect to be

be the same steady person; and when all others of the same Rank were so passionately toucht therewith, he alone did not seem to be any whit affected at his own misfortune; but this however was not so much an effect of reason, and the meekness of his Temper, or because he bore the Accident with Patience, as a certain Transport of Fury and profound Displeasure, which with ordinary and ignorant Judges does not then pass for a grief of Mind, for when this passion lighting on a fiery Nature, does as it were kindle and flame out into Choler, it throws off all the depression and sluggishness, which is otherwise so proper to it; from whence it happens that an angry Man is sometimes thought to be extream vigorous and active; just as one in a Fever, may seem to have a hot Constitution, when all this high beating is no more than a disorderly Pulse and Palpitation of the heart, or as it were a painful Distention and shooting Tumour of the Soul: Now, that such was the Distemper of *Marcus*, it immediately appear'd by his following Actions; for upon his return home, after saluting his Mother and his Wife, that were all in Tears and full of loud Lamentations, and exhorting them to moderate the sense they had of his Calamity, he presently went toward the City Gates, whither all the Nobility did attend him, and so not so much as taking ought

will

with him, or making any Request to the Company, he departed from them, having only three or four Clients about his Person. He continu'd solitary and musing for a few days in some Villages he had, tois'd and distracted with great variety of Counsels, such as Rage and Indignation did suggest to him; in all which therefore he did not propose to himself any honourable or useful end, but only how he might best satisfy his Revenge in persecuting the *Romans*, and for this purpose he resolv'd at length to raise up a heavy War against them from their nearest Neighbours.

He leaves Rome.

In order hereunto, his business was in the first place to make trial of the *Volsicians*, whom he knew to be still vigorous and flourishing enough both in Strength and Treasure, and did imagine their Force and Power was not so much abated, as their Spite and wrathful Pertinacy was increas'd, by the late Overthrows they had receiv'd from the *Romans*. Now there was a Man of *Antium*, call'd *Tullius Aufidius*, who, for his Wealth and Prowess, and the Splendor of his Family, had the Respect and Privilege of a King among all the *Volsicians*, but one whom *Marcus* knew to have a particular Pique and an inveterate Malice against him above any *Roman* whatsoever; for there having frequent Menaces and Challenges pass'd between them, as they met together

He goes to the Volsicians.

K

ther in the Field, and by often defying each other through a competition of their Valour (as the Strife and Emulation of youthful Spirits does usually prompt them to such Braveries) they had, beside the common Quarrel of their Countrey, conceiv'd a mutual Enmity and private Hatred to each other; but for all this, considering the great Generosity of *Tullus*, and that none of the *Volscians* did so much desire an occasion, to return back upon the *Romans* some part of the Evils they had done them, he ventur'd at a thing, which mightily confirms that Saying of the Poet:

*Hard and unequal is with Wrath the Strife,
Which makes us buy its pleasure with our life.*

For putting on such Cloaths and Habillments, by which he might appear most unlike the Person he was, to all that should see him in that Equipage, as *Homer* says of *Ulysses*.

The Town he enter'd of his mortal Foes.

His Arrival at Antium. His Arrival at *Antium* was about Evening and though several met him in the Streets yet he pass'd along without being known to any, and went directly on to the House of *Tullus*; where stealing in undiscovered he presently made up to the Fire-hearth (a Place that was sacred to their Lare

and seated himself there without speaking a word, or using any motion, after he had cover'd his Head, to prevent observance. Those of the Family could not choose but wonder at the man's Confidence, and yet they were afraid either to raise or question him, (for there was a certain air of Majesty about him, which shew'd it self both in his Posture and his Silence) but they recounted to *Tullus* (being then at Supper) the strangeness of this Accident, who immediately rose from Table, and coming to *Coriolanus*, ask'd him, who he was, and for what business he came thither: whereupon *Marcus* unmuffling himself, and pausing a while, If, says he, you can not yet call me to mind, *Tullus*, if you do not believe your eyes concerning me, I must of necessity be my own Accuser; know therefore that I am Caius Marcius, the same Man that has been Author of so much Mischief to the *Volscians*, which if I should offer to deny, the Surname of *Coriolanus* I now bear, would be a sufficient Evidence against me, for I have no other Repompence to boast of, for all the Hardships and Perils I have gone through during the Wars between us, but a Title that proclaims my Enmity to your Nation, and this is the only thing which is still left me; as for other Advantages, I have been stripp'd and depriv'd of them all at once by the Envy and Outrage of the Roman People, and through the Cowardise and Treachery of the

His Speech
to Tullus
Aufidius.

Magistrates, and those of my own Order; so that I am driven out as an Exile, and become a humble Suppliant before your household Gods, not so much for safety and protection, (for what should make me come hither had I been afraid to die?) as to seek and procure Vengeance against those that did expel me from my Country, which, methinks, I have already obtain'd, by putting my self into your hands; if therefore you have really a mind to attack and defeat your Enemies, come on, noble Sir, make use of the Affliction you see me into to assist the Enterprize, and let my personal Infelicity prove a common Blessing to the Volscians; for I am like to be much more serviceable in fighting for, than against you, as they who understand the Secrets of their Enemies, do manage the War better, than such as are unacquainted with the way and manner of their Conduct: But if you despond and give out, and refuse to make any further Attempts upon them, I am neither willing to lose my self, nor will it be safe and prudent in you to preserve a Person who has been your Rival and Adversary of old, and now, when he offers you his Service, is so far slighted, as to be thought unprofitable and useless to you.

Tullus having heard the Discovery and Discourse he made, was wonderfully pleas'd with it, and giving him his right Hand, arise, says he, Marcius, and be of good Courage for it is a considerable Happiness you bring

Antium

Antium, in that welcome Present you do bereave me of your self, and you may look for all manner of Civility and respectful Usage from the Volscians; and so for that time he did only feast and entertain him with great Kindness, but for several days after they held private Conference, and were in close Deliberation touching the Means and Requisites of a War. While this Design was forming, there were great Troubles and Commotions at Rome, from the Animosity of the Senators against the People, which came to be heightned too at present by a new Grudge, for the late Condemnation of Marcius; beside that their Soothsayers and Priests, and even private Persons, brought in fearful tidings of Signs and Prodigies, that were very much to be regarded, one whereof I shall mention here, which they report to have happen'd in this manner. Titus Latinus, one of ordinary Condition, but yet a sober and vertuous man, free from all superstitious Fancies on one hand, and much more from Vanity and Boasting on the other, had an Apparition in his Sleep, as if Jupiter came within view and bid him tell the Senate, that they had sent a very uncouth and disagreeable Dancer, to march before the Pomp of that Supplication they design'd him; but having beheld the Vision, he said, he did not much mind it, or the words spoken at the first Appearance, and having seen and slighted

it a second and third time, he then saw the most hopeful Son he had, expire before his Eyes, and his own Body was so struck and loos'n'd on a sudden, that himself became utterly impotent. These things he related, being brought hastily into the Senate on a Couch, and the Story goes, that he had no sooner deliver'd his Message there, but he presently felt his Strength and Vigour to return, insomuch that he got upon his Legs, and went home alone, without need of any assistance or support, which the Senators much wondring at, made a diligent search into the Matter. Now that which his Dream alluded to was this: A Person whose Name I know not, had for some heinous Offence, given up a Servant of his to the rest of his Fellows, with charge to whip him first through the Market, and then to kill him; while they were executing this Command, and scourging the poor Creature, that skrew'd and turn'd himself into all manner of Shapes and unseemly Motions, through the Pain and Torture he was in, a solemn Procession made in Honour of *Jupiter*, chanc'd to follow at their heels; several of the Assistants therein were very much scandaliz'd at such a sight, the horrible sufferings and the indecent postures of that Wretch, being equally offensive to the Spectators, and detested by them; yet no
body

body would interpose, or call the Actors to account for it, they did only spend some Reproaches and Curses on the Master, who was so bitter and barbarous in his Inflictions: for the *Romans* treated their Servants with much Humanity in those days, because they did then work and labour themselves, and live together among them, and so were apt to be more gentle and familiar with their own Domesticks; for it was one of the greatest Pennances for a Servant who had highly misdeemean'd himself to take up that piece of Wood upon his shoulders wherewith they did support the Thill of a Waggon, and carry it round about through the Neighbourhood, and he that had once undergone the shame of this, and was seen by those of the Household and other Inhabitants of the place, with that infamous burden, had no longer any trust or credit among them, but was styl'd *Furcifer* by way of ignominy and reproach; for what the *Greeks* in their Language call *Hypostates*, i. e. a Prop or Supporter, is by the *Latins* termed *Furca*, from the forked Figure of that rustical Instrument.

When therefore *Latinus* had given in such a Relation of his Dream, and all the Senators were devising who this disagreeable and ungainly Dancer should be, some of the Company (having been much affected with

the strangeness of his punishment) did call to mind and mention the miserable Slave which was lash'd through the Streets, and afterward put to death; the Priests then being consulted in the Case, did all unanimously agree, that this must be the same ungraceful and odious Tripper, which *Jupiter* complain'd of; whereupon his Master was punish'd, and they renew'd the Supplication to their God, with all the Shows and Solemnities of that Performance. By which it appears, that *Numa* was both in other respects a very wise Author of what did belong to holy Offices, and that this in particular was an excellent institution of his, to make the People attentive at their Religious Ceremonies; for when the Magistrates or Priests do perform any Divine Worship, there is a Herald goes before, and proclaims with a loud voice, *Hoc age*, which signifies, Do this you are about, and so warns them heedfully to mind whatever Sacred Action they are engag'd in, not suffering any other business, or worldly avocation to come in between, that may disturb their thoughts, and interrupt the Exercise; and this he judg'd to be the more necessary here, inasmuch as most of the things which men do, especially of this kind, are in a manner forc'd from them, and effected by constraint. Now

it is usual with the *Romans* to begin their Sacrifices, and Processions, and Sights afresh, not only upon such a Cause as this, but for any slighter reason; for if but one of the Horses which drew the Chariots call'd *Tensæ*, upon which the Images of their Gods were plac'd, did happen to fail and falter, or if the Coach-man took hold of the Reins with his left hand, they made a Vote that the whole Operation should commence anew; and in latter ages one and the same Sacrifice was perform'd thirty times over, because there seem'd always to be a defect or mistake, or some vitious and offensive Accident in that Service; so great was the Reverence and Caution which the *Romans* then shew'd towards the Deity in all things.

But *Marcus* and *Tullus* did now secretly discourse of their Project before the chief men of *Antium*, advising them to invade the *Romans* while they were at odds among themselves, and embroyl'd in Dissentions and Contests with each other; and when the Respects of Shame and Decency did hinder them from embracing the motion, inasmuch as they had agreed and sworn to a Truce and Cessation of Arms for the space of two years, the *Romans* themselves soon furnish'd them with a Pretence, by making Proclamation (out of a certain jealousy,

or

or slanderous report) in the midst of their Shews and Exercises, that all the *Volsicians* who came thither to see them, should depart the City before Sun-set: there are some who affirm, that all this was a Contrivance and Trick of *Marcus*, who sent one privately to the Consuls that should falsely accuse the *Volsicians*, as if they did intend to fall upon the *Romans* while they were at their Plays and Pastimes, and set the City on fire. Now so publick an Affront did extremely nettle those of that Nation, and dispose them more than ever to Hostility and hatred against the *Romans*; which *Tullus* perceiving, made his advantage of it, much aggravating the Fact, and working on their present Indignation, till he did provoke and persuade them at last to dispatch Embassadors to *Rome*, that should require them to restore that part of their Country, and those Towns which they had taken from the *Volsicians* in the late War: When the *Romans* heard such a Message, they were in great wrath, and smartly reply'd, That if the *Volsicians* were the first that did take up Arms, the *Romans* should be the last that would lay them down. This Answer being brought back, *Tullus* made a General Assembly of the *Volsician* States, in which Convention the Vote passing for a War; he did propose that they should call in *Marcus*, laying aside the re-

remembrance of former grudges, and assuring themselves that the Services they should now receive from him as a Friend and Associate, would abundantly out-weigh any harm or damage he had done them when he was their Enemy: *Marcus* having made his Entrance, and spoken to the People, he was thought to be a shrewd Warriour no less by his Discourse than by his Deeds, and to excel in Prudence as well as Courage; whereupon they joyn'd him in Commission with *Tullus*, to have full Power as General of their Forces in all that related to the War; who fearing lest the time that would be requisite to bring all the *Volsicians* together, with their Ammunition and Equipage for that Service, might be so long as to make him lose the opportunity of some considerable Action; he left order with the chief Persons and Rulers of the City to provide and furnish out other things, while he himself, prevailing upon the most brisk and forward, to assemble themselves, and march out with him as Volunteers, without staying to be enroll'd, made a sudden Inroad into the *Roman* Confines when no body did expect him, by which nimble surprisal he possess himself of so much Booty, that the *Volsicians* were incumber'd with their Prey, as unable to drive away and carry it all off, or when they had done so, to consume and spend

spend it in their Camp; but the abundance of Provision which he gain'd, and that waste and havock of the Country which he made, were of themselves and in his account, the smallest things in that Invasion, the great mischief he intended, and for the sake whereof he did all the rest, was to increase at Rome their slanders and jealousies of the Nobles, and to make them still upon worse terms with the People; for which end, in spoiling all the Fields, and destroying the Goods of other men, he took special care to preserve their Farms and Villages untouched, and would not allow his Souldiers to ravage there, or seize upon any thing which belong'd to them; from whence their Invectives and Quarrels against one another, broke out afresh, and rose to a greater height than heretofore; the Senators reproaching those of the Commonalty, with their late injustice to *Coriolanus*, as if they were rightly serv'd for banishing a man of so great Importance; while the *Plebeians* on their side did not stick to accuse them for having, out of meer spite and revenge, solicited *Marcus* to this Enterprize, and that, when others were involv'd in the miseries of a War by their means, they sat like unconcern'd Spectators, as being secure themselves, and furnish'd with a Guardian or Protector abroad of their own Wealth and Fortunes,

in

in the very person of him who was a Mortal Enemy to the People. After this Incursion and Exploit which was of great use and singular advantage to the *Volsians*, inasmuch as they learnt by it to grow more hardy, and then first of all to contemn those Enemies they so much dreaded before, *Marcus* drew them off, and return'd in safety. But when the whole strength of the *Volsians* was with great Expedition and Alacrity brought together into the Field, it appear'd so considerable a body, that they agreed to leave part thereof in Garrison for the security of their Towns, and with the other Moyety to march against the *Romans*: *Coriolanus* then desired *Tullus* to consider which of the two Charges would be most agreeable to him, and that he would choose accordingly; to which *Tullus* made answer, That since he knew *Marcus* to be equally valiant with himself, but far more fortunate in all Rencounters, he would have him take the Command of those that were going out to the War, while he made it his care and business to defend their Cities at home, and provide all Conveniences for the Army abroad. *Marcus* therefore, being thus reinforced, and much stronger than before, mov'd first toward the City call'd *Circæum*, that was a *Roman Colony*, which being freely deliver'd up, he did not the least harm there to the

the Place or its Inhabitants: And passing thence, he enter'd and laid waste the Country of the *Latins*, where it was expected the *Romans* should have come in to their assistance, and fought against him in behalf of the *Latins*, who were their Confederates and Allies, and had often sent to demand Succours from them; but because as well the People on their part shew'd little inclination for the Service, and the *Consuls* themselves were unwilling now to run the hazard of a Battle, when the time of their Office drew so near its end, and was almost ready to expire, they dismiss the *Latin* Embassadors without any effect: So that *Marcus* finding no Army to oppose him, marcht up to their very Cities themselves, and having taken by force that of the People call'd *Telerienfes*, and of the *Vicani* and *Pedani*, and of the *Belani* too, who stood it out against him; he not only plunder'd their Houses, but made a Prey likewise of their Persons: But he had a particular regard for all such as came over to his Party, and was so tender of them, that for fear they might sustain any damage against his will, he encamp't still at the greatest distance he could, and wholly abstain'd from the Lands of their Propriety. After he had made himself Master of *Bola*, a City that was not above a hundred Furlongs from *Rome*, where he met

with

with great Treasure, and put almost all to the Sword that were of an age to carry Weapons; the other *Volsicians* that were order'd to stay behind as a safeguard to their Cities, hearing of his Atchievements and Success, had not the patience to remain any longer at home, but came running with their Arms to *Marcus*, and saying, that he alone was their General, and the sole person they would own as a Commander in Chief over them; upon which he had a mighty Name, and the Renown of him spread throughout all *Italy*, with a marvellous Opinion of his single Prowess; who, by changing sides, had himself alone given that sudden turn to the Affairs of two Nations, and made such a strange and notable alteration in the state of things.

All was at *Rome* now in very great disorder, for they were utterly averse from Fighting, and spent their whole time in Cabals and Conspiracies, and seditious words, and perpetual Bandyings against each other; until News was brought that the Enemy had laid close Siege to *Lavinium*, wherein were all the Images and Sacred things of their tutelar Gods, and from whence they did derive the Original of their Nation, that being the first City which *Aeneas* built in *Italy*; which tidings did produce great variety of Sentiments, and wrought a wonderful difference

ference all at once as to the Thoughts and Inclinations of the People, but a very odd and unexpected change of Mind among the *Patricians*; for the former now was for repealing the Sentence against *Marcus*, and calling him back into the City; whereas the Senate, being assembled to deliberate and resolve upon that Point, did finally dislike and oppose the Proposition; either out of a cross humour, to contradict and withstand the People in what-ever they should motion, or because they were unwilling perhaps, that he should owe his Restoration to their Kindness; or having now conceived a Displeasure against *Marcus* himself, who did harass and plague them all alike, though he had not been ill treated by all, and was become a declar'd Enemy to the whole Countrey, though he knew well enough that the principal Men, and all the better sort, did condole with him, and suffer in his Injuries.

This Resolution of theirs being made publick, the People was utterly at a loss, and could proceed no further, as having no Authority to pass any thing by Suffrage, and enact it for a Law, without a previous Decree from the Senate. But when *Marcus* came to hear of that Vote for prohibiting his Return, he was more exasperated than ever, in so much that quitting the Siege of *Lavinium*, he march'd furiously towards *Rome*, and encamp'd

incamp'd at a Place call'd *Fossa Clælia*, about five miles from the City; but as the nearness of his Approach was terrible, and did create much Trouble and Disturbance, so likewise did it surcease their Animosities and Dissentions for the present; for no body now whether Consul or Senator, durst any longer contradict the People in their design of recalling *Marcus*; but seeing their Women run frightened up and down the Streets, and the old Men at Prayer in every Temple with Tears and earnest Supplications, and that, in short, there was a general defect among them both of Courage and Wisdom, to provide for their own safety, they came at last to be all of one mind, that the People had been very much in the right, to propose and endeavour, as they did, a Reconciliation with *Marcus*, but that the Senate was extremely out, and guilty of a fatal Errour, then to begin a Quarrel with, and provoke *Marcus*, when it was a time to forget Offences, and they should have studied rather to appease him. It was therefore unanimously agreed by all Parties, that Embassadors should be dispatch'd away, offering him the liberty of a Return to his former State at home, and desiring he would free them from the Apprehensions and the Straits of that War. The Persons sent by the Senate with this Message, were chosen out of his Kindred and acquaintance, who did therefore expect a very kind

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Reception at their first Interview and Audience, upon the score of that Relation, and their old Familiarity and Friendship with him; but it seems they were very much mistaken in their Count, for being led through the Enemies Camp, they found him sitting in great State amidst a crowd of Officers, with insupportable Arrogance and a swollen Gravity; the Chief of the *Volsicians* being then present, he bid them openly declare the Cause of their coming, which they did in the most gentle and benigne terms, and with a Behaviour suitable to the modesty of that Language. When they had made an end of speaking, he return'd them a sharp Answer, full of Bitterness and angry Resentments, as to what concern'd himself, and the ill Usage he had receiv'd from them; but as General of the *Volsicians*, he demanded restitution of the Cities and the Lands they had seiz'd upon during the late War, and that the same Rights and Privileges should be granted them at *Rome*, which they had before accorded to the *Latines*, since there could be no assurance that a Peace would be firm and lasting, without fair Conditions on both sides, and if it had not Justice and Equality to secure it; and having made these Proposals, he allow'd thirty days to consider and resolve about them. The Embassadors being departed, he presently withdrew his Forces out of the *Roman Territory*; that

which

which those of the *Volsicians*, who had long envy'd his Reputation, and could not endure to see the Interest and Sway he had with that People, did lay hold of, as the first matter of an Impeachment against him. Among his chief Maligners was even *Tullus* himself, not for any personal Offence or private Injury, but out of humane passion, and a Vice so incident to Mankind, he felt an inward Pique, to find his own Glory thus totally obscur'd, by that of *Marcius*, and himself overlookt and neglected now by the *Volsicians*, who had so great an Opinion and Esteem of their new Leader, that he alone was instead of all to them, and they would have other Captains be content with that share of Government and Power, which he should think fit to vouchsafe them. From hence the first Seeds of Complaint and Accusation were scatter'd about in secret, and the Heads of that Conspiracy assembling together, did help to raise and heighten each others Indignation, saying, that to retreat as he did, was in effect to betray and deliver up, though not their Cities and their Arms, yet the proper Times and Opportunities for Action, which is a damage of no smaller consequence than the other, inasmuch as the preservation or the loss of all these, and every thing else, does naturally depend on them, seeing in less than thirty days space,

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for

for which he had given a respite from the War, there might happen the greatest changes in the World. Albeit *Marcus* spent not any part of the time idly, but did attack and damnify the Confederates of the Enemy, yea, and took from them seven great and populous Cities in that Interval. The *Romans* in the mean while durst not venture out to their relief, but were of a sluggish and unactive Spirit, feeling no more disposition or Capacity for the Affairs of War, than their Bodies too had been struck and benumbed with a dead Palsie, and so become utterly destitute of sense and motion: But when the thirty dayes were expired, and *Marcus* appear'd again with his whole Army, they sent another Embassie to beseech him that he would moderate his Displeasure, and marching off with the *Volsicians* consider what was fit to be done, and propose that which he judged most agreeable to the Interest of both Parties, remembring always that the *Romans* were not men to be wrought upon by Menaces, or that would yield any thing out of Fear, but if it were his Opinion that the *Volsicians* ought to have some favour shewn them, upon laying down their Arms, they might obtain all that they could in reason desire and fairly pretend to.

The Reply of *Marcus* was, That
shou

should answer nothing thereto as General of the *Volsicians*, but in the quality still of a *Roman* Citizen, he would advise and exhort them, as the case stood, not to carry it so high, but think rather of a just Compliance, and return to him before three days were at an end, with a Ratification of those equal demands he had formerly made, and did insist upon; for otherwise they should not have the same freedom and security of passing through his Camp again upon such idle Errands, and for like impertinent and fruitless Treaties. When the Embassadors were come back and had acquainted the Senate with this resolute Answer, seeing the whole State now threatned as it were by a Tempest, and the Waves ready to overwhelm them, they were forc'd as we say, in extream Perils, to handle and let down the Sacred Anchor; for there was a Decree made, that the whole Order of their *Priests*, with such as did initiate in *Mysteries*, or had the care and custody of *Holy Things*, or the skill of *Prophecy* by Birds (an ancient way of *Divination* among the *Romans*) should all and every one of them go in full Procession to *Marcus* with their Pontifical Array, and the same Dress and Habit which they respectively us'd in their several Functions or Religious Ceremonies;

which venerable Orators were to bespeak him as before, and recommend the former Request; that, upon their instance at least, he would be perswaded to surcease the War, and then discourse with his Country-men about the *Volscian* Articles; he consented so far indeed as to give these reverend and peaceful persons an Admittance into his Camp, but granted nothing at all out of respect and complaisance for them, nor did he so much as behave or express himself with more civility or smoothness upon their account; but without capitulating further, or receding from his main point, bid them once for all choose whether they would yield or fight, for the old terms were the only terms of Peace. When there was no better effect of such a solemn Application, (the *Priests* too returning unsuccessful) they determin'd to sit still within the City, and keep Watch about their Walls, intending only to repulse the Enemy, should he offer to attack them, and placing their hopes chiefly in the strange and extraordinary Accidents of Time and Fortune: for as to themselves, they had neither the Wit to contrive, nor the Courage to undertake ought for their own deliverance, but confusion and terror, and ill-boding Reports run through the whole City; till a certain thing did arrive, not unlike those we so often read of in *Homer*, (which

(which however most people will hardly believe) for when he upon great occasions, and some rare and unusual events does affirm and exclaim in this manner.——

But him the Goddess Pallas did inspire.——

And elsewhere,

*But some Immortal being turn'd their mind,
Who left another tale and bruit behind.——*

And then,

*Whether 'twere his own thought, or God's
Command.*

Men are ready here to despise or censure the *Poet*, as if he went about to destroy the Credit and the use of Reason, and indeed the very freedom of their Choice, by submitting all to such impossible things and absurd Fictions; whereas *Homer* can no way be suppos'd to attempt or design this, for what is probable and usual, and brought about by the ordinary way of Reason, he ascribes that to humane performance, and leaves it wholly to our own power and management, frequently discoursing to this effect,——

But I consulted with my own great Soul.

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And

And in another passage.

*This said, Achilles was with grief poss'ed,
And various thoughts did bustle in his breast.*

And then again,
*Tet brave Bellerophon her charms withstood,
On Vertue fixt, and ever true to good.*

But in such things and actions as are unaccountably daring, and of a prodigious and transcendent kind, and therefore need some touches of *Enthusiasm* and *divine hardiness* that may instigate and carry us thereto: Here, I say, he does introduce God not as taking away the liberty of our Will, but as moving it to act freely; neither as working in us the Inclinations and Pursuits themselves, but as offering those *Phantasms* and *Objects* to our Minds, from whence the Impulse is conceiv'd, and the Resolution taken; by which Representments however, he makes not the Deed involuntary, but only gives a beginning to spontaneous Operations, and superadds confidence and good hope to what is thus willingly undertaken: for we must either totally discharge and remove God from all manner of causality as to what we do, and a prime Original Influence on our Affairs, or be forced to confess that there is no other way of Insinuation beside this whereby he

he does secretly assist men and co-operate with them; for sure the help which he affords us, cannot be imagin'd to consist in fashioning the postures of our body, or directing the motions of our hands and feet, so as they may be serviceable to us for the use of life, but in exciting the practical part, and the elective powers of our Soul, by initial overtures and certain Images and Instincts from above; or else on the contrary, in a sudden aversion or seasonable restraint of them from other things, and that also by hints and apprehensions of his sending.

Now in this perplexity of Affairs which I before mention'd, the *Roman* Women went some of them to other Temples, but the greater part, and the Ladies of best quality were at high Devotion about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; Among these Supplicants was also *Valeria*, Sister to the great *Publicola*, a person who had done the *Romans* that eminent service both in Peace and War: *Publicola* himself was now deceas'd (as I have written in the History of his Life) but *Valeria* liv'd still with a mighty Reputation and Esteem at *Rome*, as one whose Conduct was thought not to disparage her Kindred, or any way shame the Relation she had to him. She therefore being suddenly seiz'd with an instinct or emotion of mind not unlike those

those I but now spoke of, and happily lighting (not without Divine Guidance) on the right Expedient, both arose her self, and caus'd the rest of the Votaries to get up, and made directly with them toward the House of *Volumnia*, the Mother of *Marcus*; when she came in, and found her sitting with her Daughter-in-law, and having her little Grand-children on her Lap, *Valeria* then surrounded by her Female-companions, spoke in the name of them all to this purpose. —

*Valeria's
Speech to
Volum-
nia, &c.*

We that now make our appearance, O Volumnia, and you, Madam Vergilia, approach as women unto women, being come hither not by direction of the Senate, or an Order from the Consuls, or the appointment of any other Magistrate; but God himself, as I conceive, mov'd first to compassion by our Prayers, has consequently mov'd us to visit you in a body, and request a thing wherein our own and the common safety is concern'd, and which, if you consent to it, will raise your Glory above that of the Daughters of the Sabines, who, by hazarding themselves, did reduce their Fathers and their Husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship. Come along then, my good Ladies, and joyn with us in our Supplication to Marcus, and do your Country the right of giving him this true and just testimony on her behalf; that notwithstanding the many mischiefs and calamities she has suffer'd, yet
she

she did never outrage your Persons, nor could so much as think of treating you ill, in the midst of all her Resentments, but does now restore and present you safe into his hands, though there is small likelihood she should obtain from him any better terms for her self, or the least favourable and gentle usage on that account.

This Discourse of *Valeria* was seconded by loud Approbations and Incentives of the other women; to which *Volumnia* made answer. —

*Both I my self, Ladies, and my Daughter Volumnia's
Vergilia, have an equal share with you all in the Answer.*
common miseries, beside this particular affliction which is wholly ours, that we have lost the merit and the fame of Marcus, and may perceive his person to be secur'd, rather then protected by the Arms of the Enemy; but I reckon this the greatest of all Misfortunes, if indeed the Affairs of Rome be sunk to that desperate and feeble state, as to have its last dependance upon two simple insignificant women; for it is hardly imaginable he should have any consideration left for us, when he has no regard for his Country, a man who was wont to prefer that before his Mother, and Wife and Children put together. Yet notwithstanding this, if it be your opinion that we may do any good here, vouchsafe to make use of our service, and lead us to him, who, if we fail of every thing else, at least can die for, though not redeem our Countrey, and
spend

Spend the last breath we have in making suit to him for its deliverance.

Having spoken thus, she took Vergilia by the Hand, and the young Children, and so accompani'd those other Ladies to the Volscian Camp. So lamentable a sight did very much affect the Enemies themselves, and create in them a respectful Silence. *Marcus* was then sitting in an elevated Place with his chief Officers about him, and seeing that female Party advance toward them, he wondred what should be the Matter; but came to perceive at length that his own Wife *Vergilia* was at the head of their Company; whereupon he endeavour'd to harden himself in his former obstinacy, and would fain have kept up the same inexorable Stiffness against all Entreaties; but overcome by Affection, and strangely disorder'd at such an Appearance, he could not endure they shou'd approach him sitting in that Stately posture, but came down hastily to meet them, saluting his Mother first, and embracing her a long time, and then his Wife and Children, sparing neither Tears nor Caresses on this occasion, but suffering himself to be born away, and carried headlong as it were by the impetuous Torrent, and the pleasing Violence of his present Passion. When he had taken his fill of these Sweetnesses and Indearments and ob-

serv'd

serv'd that his Mother *Volumnia* was desirous to say something, the Volscian Council being first call'd in, he heard her Discourse before them to this effect: *You may easily conjecture, Son, though we should say nothing ourselves, and might conclude from the very form and habit of these wretched Bodies you behold here, in how forlorn a condition we have liv'd at home since your unhappy Banishment and Absence from us; and now consider with your self, whether we are not to pass for the most unfortunate of Women, and if ours be not the hardest of all Cases, seeing that, which ought to prove the most delightful thing, and a very glad some Spectacle, is, through I know not what Fatality, become of all others the most formidable and dreadful to us, when poor Volumnia has the Displeasure to see her Son, and that sad Vergilia the Regret to find her Husband now planting his Batteries against the Walls of Rome; yea even the business of Prayer it self, from whence others do fetch Comfort and Relief in all manner of Misfortunes and Distresses, is that which adds to our Confusion, and does intangle and perplex us above all the rest; for our best wishes are grown inconsistent with themselves, nor can we at the same time petition the Gods for Rome's Victory, and your Preservation; but what the worst of our Enemies would imprecate as a Curse, that is the very Subject of our Vows, or at least is interwoven and mingled with them;*

for

Volumnia's Speech to her Son Marcus.

for your Wife and Children lye under this woful necessity, that they must either be deprived of you, or of their native Soyl. As for myself, I am resolv'd not to live till Fortune put an end to this War, and determine the Advantage for one side; but if I cannot prevail with you to prefer Amity and Concord before Quarrelling and hostile Practices, and shall not persuade my Son Marcius to become a Benefactor to both Parties, rather than a Plague to either, be assur'd of this from me, and reckon stedfastly upon it, that you shall not be able to stir a foot towards treading down your Countrey, unless you trample first upon the dead Corps of her, that brought you into the World, and who will deserve to be so treated for having given you Life; for it will be indecent for me to wait and loiter in the World till that dismal day come, wherein I shall see a Child of mine either led in Triumph by his own Countrey-men, or else erecting Trophies on the Waste and Ruine of that City where he was born. Did I require you at once to save your Countrey, and destroy the Volscians, here, I confess, the Case would be a little hard, and you might well pretend some difficulty to resolve it; for as it seems unnatural and barbarous to slaughter our fellow Citizens, so likewise it is unjust and perfidious to betray those who have plac'd their Confidence in us. But now without doing the least harm to others, we desire only a Deliverance from our own Evils; and

and though the thing be equally expedient for them and us, yet will it look more handsom and honourable on the Volscian side, who having so much the better of us at present, will be thought freely to bestow the two greatest Blessings of Peace and Friendship, even when they receive no less at our hands than is conferr'd by them. If we obtain these, the common Thanks and Acknowledgement will be chiefly owing to you, as the principal Cause of such a Reconciliation between us; but if they be not granted, you alone must expect to bear the blame of that, and whatever Mischief does ensue, from both Nations. And when the Chance of all War is uncertain, this will be the certain Event of that you are engag'd in, that, by conquering the Romans, you shall only get the reputation of having undone your Countrey; but if the Volscians happen to be defeated under your conduct, then the World will say, that to satisfy a revengeful Humour, you have been the Author of the greatest Misery to your Friends and Patrons, and procur'd the Overthrow even of a kind and obliging People. Marcius listned to his Mother, while she went on with her Discourse, and answer'd not a word; but Volumnia seeing him stand mute for a long time after she had left speaking, fell again to press him: O my Son, says she, why will you not vouchsafe to answer me, or what can be the meaning of this profound Silence? Does it become you thus
to

to comply with Passion, and yield all things to a sense of Injuries? And will you not think it fit to gratifie your Mother, that does now appear in so worthy a Cause, and solicit Matters of such weight and consequence? Can it pass for the property of a noble Mind and a gallant Person, to preserve the memory of Affronts and ill Usage? And shall we not reckon it the Character and Business of a great and a good Man to remember Benefits, and own the Obligation which Children receive from Parents, by a return of Honour and Reverence to the Authours of them? But you above all Persons in the World, ought to shew a very grateful Resentment of the Favours have been done you, since no body living did ever punish Ingratitude, and persecute that Vice in others, with so much Severity as you self; and, to say the truth, you have been sufficiently aveng'd of your Countrey, for requiring your services so ill, but the amends of all mine towards you is behind still, and I wait now for the Recompence of a Mothers Care and Kindness; the most sacred Tyes both of Nature and Religion, without any other constraint, should methinks oblige you to grant me things that are so fair and equal; but if, after all, I am so unhappy as to be deny'd, why should I spare myself any longer, and to what purpose do I spin out my last Hope? Having said this, she threw her self down at his Feet, and so did his Wife and Children; upon which *Marcus* crying

crying out, O Mother! what is it you have done to me, and whither am I reduc'd by it? rais'd her up from the ground, and pressing her right Hand with more than ordinary vehemence, You have gain'd a Victory, says he, over me, that is fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to my self, for I am preparing to depart hence, as vanquish'd and driven away by you only. After which, and a little private Conference with his Mother and his Wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desir'd of him.

The next Morning he discamp'd and led the *Volsians* homeward, who were variously affected with what was done, nor did they all testifie a like Concern at it; for some of them did both complain of the man, and condemn the action; while others inclining to reconciliation and a peaceable composition of things, did blame neither; and there was a third sort, which very much dislik'd his proceedings; yet they could not look upon *Marcus* as a treacherous person, but thought it pardonable in him, to be thus shaken and broke, and forc'd to surrender at last, through the stress and pressure of so many violent assaults and redoubled applications; however none were so hardy as to contradict his orders, but they did all obediently follow him, mov'd rather by the admiration of his

Vertue, then any regard they now had to his Authority. As for the *Roman* people they did more effectually discover how much fear and danger they had been in while the War lasted, by the manner of their deportment after they were freed from it; for those that guarded the Walls had no sooner given notice that the *Volsicians* were dislodg'd and drawn off, but they set open all their Temples in a moment, and began to Crown themselves with Flowers, and prepare for Sacrifice, as they were wont to do upon Tidings brought of any signal Victory: But the joy and transport of the whole City became chiefly remarkable from that honour and courtship of the Women, which was joyntly paid them as well by the Senate as the Vulgar, every one declaring it his Opinion, that they were evidently the Causes and Instruments of their publick safety; and the Senate having pass'd a Decree, that whatsoever they would ask by way of Recompence as a Memorial and acknowledgment of their Fame and Merit, should be allow'd and done for them by the Magistrates; they demanded nothing else but that a Temple might be erected to Female Fortune, all the Expence whereof they did offer to defray out of their own Stock, if the City would be at the cost of Sacrifices, and furnish them

with other things which appertain to the due Honour of the Gods, out of their common Treasury. The Senate then very much commending the Forwardness and Bounty of their Minds, caus'd the Temple to be built, and a Statue to be set up therein at the publick Charge; nevertheless they would needs make a Purse among themselves, for another Image of Fortune, which as the *Romans* say, at the time of Dedication and placing of it, spoke to this purpose: *O ye Ladies, great is your Piety and Devotion in the Present you have made of me.* And they fabulously report that the same words were repeated a second time, endeavouring to make us believe things that were never done, and so like Impossibilities, that it is very hard to credit them. For I think it possible enough, that Statues may seem both to sweat, and to run with Tears, yea, and stand with certain dewy drops of a sanguine Dye; for Timber and Stones are frequently seen to contract a kind of Scurf and Rottenness, that does produce moisture; and they do not only send forth many different Colours of themselves, but receive variety of Tinctures from the ambient Air, by which it is not absurd to imagine, that the Deity may advertise and forewarn us of several things. It may happen also, that these Images and Statues shall sometimes make a

noise not unlike that of a Squeak or Groan, through a rupture at the bottom, or the violent separation of their inward Parts; but that articulate Voice, and such express words, and so clear and accurate, and even Language, should be thus formed by inanimate beings, is, in my judgment, a thing utterly unfeasible; seeing it was never known, that either the Soul of Man, or even God himself, did utter vocal Sounds and Discourse alone, without an organized Body, and Instruments fitted for Elocution. But where History does in a manner force our Assent by the Concurrences of many credible Witnesses, in this Case we are to conclude, that an Impression not unlike that which does affect Sense, falling then upon the Fancy, draws in the Imaginative part to comply therewith, and take it for a true Sensation; just as it happens to us when we are fast asleep, our Eyes and Ears seem to be entertain'd with those things which we neither see nor hear. As for those Persons who, out of good will towards God, and their friendly inclination for him, and a great Tenderneſs as to all religious Matters, are so over-fond and passionate herein, that they cannot easily persuade themselves to despise or reject any thing of this kind, they have the admirable efficiency of divine Power (which surpasses our Comprehension) as a mighty Motive

Motive and Support to the belief thereof. For God has no manner of Resemblance, either as to his Nature, or his Motion, or his Skill, or his Ability, with what is humane, and therefore it is no wonder at all if he should devise and perform that, which cannot be contriv'd or accomplish'd by any Mortal; and though he differs from, and does infinitely excel us in all things else, yet the dissimilitude and distance betwixt Him and Men appears no where so much, as in the Prodigiousness of his Working, and the strange Effects of his Omnipotence; however a considerable part of the Divine Operations (as *Heraclitus* affirms) do pass by unobserv'd, and escape our Knowledge, because we are Infidels in the Point, and have not Faith enough to believe them.

But let us now look after *Marcus*, and enquire how he was treated upon his Return to *Antium*; where we shall find *Tullus*, a Man that did perfectly hate him, and could not longer endure one he was so much afraid of, consulting how he might immediately dispatch him, who, if he did escape at present, was never like to afford him such another Advantage for that purpose. Having therefore got together, and suborn'd several *Partisans* against him, he requir'd *Marcus* to resign his Charge, and give the *Volsians* an account of his Administration

tion of Affairs; who apprehending the danger of a private Condition, if *Tullus* should be made Commander in Chief, that of all others had the greatest Power and Interest with those of *Antium*, made Answer, That he was ready to lay down his Commission, whenever the *Volscian* States, from whose common Authority he had receiv'd it, should think fit to command him, and that in the mean time he did not refuse to give the *Antiates* satisfaction, as to all Particulars of his Conduct, if they were desirous of it.

An Assembly then being call'd, there arose certain Orators, appointed for that Design, who by their popular Harangues did exasperate and incense the Multitude; but when *Marcus* stood up to answer those Objections and Impeachments they had brought against him, the more unruly and tumultuous part of the People waxed calm and quiet on the sudden, and out of Reverence to his Person, gave him liberty to speak without the least disturbance; beside that all the better sort of *Antium*, and such as were most delighted with a Peace, made it evident by their whole Composure, that they would give him a favourable Hearing, and then judge and pronounce according to Equity.

Tullus therefore began to dread his Apology, and suspect the issue of that Defence he was going to make for himself; for he was

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an excellent Spokes-man, and one of singular Eloquence; and the former Services he had done the *Volscians*, did procure and still preserve for him a much greater Kindness, than could possibly be out-weigh'd by that new Displeasure, and the Blame of his late Conduct; yea, the very Crime and Accusation it self, was a proof and testimony of the greatness of his Merits, for that People could never have complain'd or thought that he had been injurious to them, because *Rome* was not then brought into their Power, without a plain Confession, that by his means only they were so near taking it. For these Reasons the Confederates judg'd it prudent not to make any further Delays, or Attempts upon the Vulgar, and so the boldest of their Faction crying out, that they ought not to listen to a Traytor, nor allow him still to bear Rule, and play the Tyrant among them, fell upon *Marcus* in a Body, and slew him there, none of those that were present so much as offering to defend him. But it quickly appear'd, that this base and unworthy Action was in no wise approv'd by the Majority of the *Volscians*, for they came running out of their several Cities, to shew Respect unto his Corps, which they did by an honourable Interment of it, adorning his Sepulchre with Arms and Trophies, as the Monument of a noble Hero and a famous Ge-

neral. When the *Romans* heard tidings of his death, they gave no other signification either of Honour or of Anger towards him, but only granted this Request of the Women, that they might put themselves into Mourning, and bewail him for ten Months, as their Custom was upon the loss of a Father, or a Son, or a Brother; that being a period set for the longest Lamentation in such Cases, by the ancient Laws of *Numa Pompilius*, as it is more amply related in what I have written of his Life and Actions. Now *Marcus* was no sooner deceased, but the *Volscians* came to need his Assistance, and wish for him again; for they fell to swabble first with the *Sicani*, (their Confederates and their Friends) about the nomination of a General, that should be Commander in Chief of their joynt Forces, which Dispute for Preheminence was carried on with so much fierceness, that it came at length to Bloodshed and Slaughter on both sides. After this they were defeated by the *Romans* in a pitch'd Battle, where not only *Tullus* lost his Life, but the principal Flower of their whole Army was cut in pieces; so that they were forc'd to submit, and accept of Peace upon very dishonourable terms, promising to observe the *Roman* Orders, and obey their Enemy in whatever he should impose,

THE
LIFE
OF
PAULUS EMILIUS.

English'd from the Greek: .

By Mr. Joseph Arrowsmith, late Fellow of Trin. Coll. Camb.

Volume II.

I First undertook this History, that I might be serviceable unto others, but I go on and persevere in my Design, that I may advantage my self; whilst the Vertues of

The use of History.



*See where Emilius does a conqueror stand
While at his feet y^e once great Perseus lies
A generous valour may y^e world commend
And Kings may fall this low by Avarice*

of these great Men are as a Looking-glass, by which I learn how I ought to order and adorn my own Life. For by this means I enjoy the greatest Familiarity, and am no less conversant with them all by Turns, than if the same Table and Bed were common to us both. When I read their Story, each particular Vertue and Excellence makes a deep Impression in my Mind, and hence I gather how great and valuable the Owner of these Accomplishments must needs have been, and with Care collect the most beautiful and remarkable Passages of their Lives, as Patterns for Imitation. A greater Pleasure than which the Gods can scarce grant us, or a more ready way to teach us Vertue. *Democritus* laid it down as a Principle in his Philosophy, (though utterly false, and tending to endless Superstitions,) That there were Phantasms appearing in the Air, and tells us that we ought to pray, that such may present themselves as are propitious, and that we may see those that are agreeable to our Natures, and would instruct us in that which is good, rather than such as are unfortunate, and would lead us into Vice. But my Method is, by daily conversing with History, and a diligent Collection of what I read, to fix in my Mind things worthy Memory of the best and most vertuous of Men. For thus am I enabled to free my self from that Contagion of

Idleness & Vice, which I may have contracted from the ill company I am sometimes forc'd to converse with; it being a powerful Remedy, with a sedate and quiet Mind, seriously to consider such noble Examples. Of this kind are those of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, and *Paulus Emilius*, to write whose Lives is my present Business; Men not only equally famous for their Virtues, but Success; inasmuch that they have left it doubtful, whether they owe their greatest Atchievements to good Fortune, or their own Prudence and Conduct.

Almost all Historians agree, That the Family of the *Emilii* was one of the most ancient of the *Roman* Nobility; and those Authors who affirm that King *Numa* was Pupil to *Pythagoras*, tell us, that the first who gave the Name to his Posterity was *Marcus*, the Son of that wise Man, who for his particular Eloquence and grace in Speech was call'd * *Emilius*. The greatest part of this Race that have been celebrated for their Virtue, which they with Zeal pursued, have been crown'd with Success; and even the Misfortune of *Lucius Emilius* at the Battel of *Canna*, gave ample Testimony of his Wisdom and Valour. For not being able to persuade his Colleague from hazarding the Battel, he, though against his Judgement, engaged with him, but was no Companion in his flight: on the contrary,

Democritus his Opinion of Phantasms.

Emilius his Extrabition.

* *Ἀμυλία*, Facundia lepor.

contrary, when he that was so resolute to engage, deserted him in the midst of danger, kept the Field and died fighting. This *Emilia* had a Daughter nam'd *Emilia*, that was married to *Scipio* the Great, and a Son *Paulus* who is the Subject of my present History.

His way to
H. nour.

His Youth fell out, and he was remarkable in a time which flourish'd, by reason of the Virtues and Reputations of most excellent and great Persons, though he followed not the ordinary Studies with the young men of Quality of that Age, nor trod the same Paths to Fame. For he did not exercise himself in pleading Causes, nor would he stoop to salute, embrace, and entertain the Vulgar, which were the usual insinuating Arts by which many grew Popular. Not that he was incapable of either, but chose to purchase a much more lasting Glory by his Valour, Justice and Integrity, and 'twas by these Virtues he soon outstript all his Equals.

Is chosen
Edile.

The first honourable Office he pretended to was that of *Edile*, which he carried against twelve Competitors of such considerable Worth and Quality, that all of them in process of time were Consuls. Being afterwards chose into the number of Priests call'd *Augurs*, who amongst the *Romans* were to observe and register such Divinations as were made by the flight of Birds, or Prodigies in the Air; he with such Intention studied

Then Au-
gur.

studied the ancient Customs of his Countrey, and so thoroughly understood the Religion of his Ancestors, that his Office which was before only esteem'd a Title of Honour, and upon that account sought after, by his means appear'd to be one of the most sublime Arts: and that definition of the Philosophers of Religion true, that it was the knowing how we ought to worship the Gods. When he perform'd any part of his Duty he did it with great Skill and utmost Care, making it his only Business, not omitting any one Ceremony, or adding the least Circumstance, but always contending with his Companions of the same Order, about things that might seem inconsiderable, and instructing them, that though they might think the Deity was easily pacified, and ready to forgive Faults of Inadvertency and Negligence, yet would such Favour and Pardon be dangerous for a Commonwealth to grant. Because no Man ever began the Disturbance of his Countreys Peace, by a notorious breach of its Laws, but they by degrees grew negligent in things of greatest concern, who gave themselves liberty in Matters of lesser moment. Nor was he less severe, in requiring and observing the ancient *Roman* Discipline in military Affairs; not endeavouring, when he had the Command, to ingratiate himself with his Souldiers by popular flattery, though

His strict-
ness in Mi-
litary Dis-
cipline.

though this Custom prevail'd at that time amongst many, who by their Courtship and seeming affable and mild to those they were under them in their first Employment sought to be promoted to a second; but by instructing them in the Laws of military Discipline, with the same Care and Exactness a Priest would teach his Ceremonies and dreadful Mysteries, by being severe to those who transgress'd and condemn'd those Laws, he re-establish'd his Country in its former Glory, esteeming Victory it self but as an accession to the well disciplining of Soldiers.

Whilst the Romans were engaged in a War with *Antiochus* the Great, against whom the most experienc'd Commanders were employed, there arose another War in the West, and they were all up in Arms in Spain. Thence they sent *Emilius*, in the Quality of *Prætor*, not with six Axes, which number other *Prætors* were accustomed to have carried before them, but with twelve, so that in his *Prætorship* he was honour'd with the dignity of a *Consul*. Twice he overcame the *Berberians* in Battel, of whom 30000 were slain; which Victory is chiefly to be ascribed to the Wisdom and Conduct of the Commander, who by his great Skill in choosing the Advantage of the Ground, and making the Onset at the Passage of a River, led his

Soldiers

Souldiers to an easie Conquest. Having made himself Master of 250 Cities, whose inhabitants voluntarily yielded and obliged themselves by Oath to Faithfulness, he left the Province in peace, and return'd to Rome, not enriching himself a Drachma by the War. The truth is, he never gave himself the trouble of heaping up Riches, but always liv'd splendidly and generously on the present Stock, which was so far from being great, (as was evident after his death) that there was scarce enough left to answer his Wives Dowry.

His first Wife was *Papiria*, the Daughter of *Masso*, who had formerly been Consul, with whom he liv'd a long while in Wedlock, and afterwards divorc'd her, though she bare him a beautiful and illustrious Off-spring, for she was Mother to the so renowned *Scipio*, and *Fabius Maximus*. The Reason of this Separation is not come to our Knowledge; but there seems to be truth in another Roman's being divorc'd from his Wife, which may be applicable to our purpose. This Person being highly am'd by his Friends, who demanded, Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful? Putting forth his Question, ask'd them, Whether it was not new, and well made? Yet, added he, none of you can tell where it wrings me. Certain it is, that

His Wives
and Children.Emilius
sent Prætor
into
Spain.

N

that great and open Faults are the usual occasions of Mens putting away their Wives, yet do liattle Jarrings and private Distastes, which arise from the disagreeableness of their Tempers, and peevishness of Dispositions, though they may be conceal'd from others, often make so great an estrangement and alteration in affections, that it is not possible for them to live together with any content.

Emilius having thus put away *Papirius* married a second Wife, by whom he had two Sons, which he brought up in his own House, adopting the two former into the greatest and most noble Families of *Rome*. The elder was adopted by *Fabius Maximus*, who was five times *Consul*; the younger by the Son of *Scipio Africanus*, his Cousin-german, and was by him named *Scipio*. One of *Emilius* his Daughters was married to the Son of *Cato*, the other to *Elius Tubero*, the very best of Men, and one who knew how to support even his Poverty with Magnificence. For there were 16 near Relations all of them of the Family of the *Elii*, who were possess'd of but one Farm, which sufficed them all, while a small House or rather Cottage contained them, their numerous Offspring, and their Wives: amongst whom was the Daughter of our *Emilius*, who although her Father had been twice *Consul*, and twice triumph'd, was so far from being ashamed of her Husband's Poverty, that she admired his Virtue, that had reduced him to that condition. Far otherwise it is with the Brothers and Relations of this Age, who if different Countreys, or at least, Walls and Rivers, part not their Inheritances, and they live at a distance, never cease from mutual Quarrels. This History will suggest good Counsel to such as endeavour to make their Improvement of it, by well considering and weighing things.

But to proceed. *Emilius* being chosen *Consul*, waged War with the *Ligurians*, or *Ligustines*, a People dwelling near the *Alpes*. They were a valiant and warlike Nation, and from their Neighbourhood to the *Romans*, well skill'd in the same Discipline and Arts of War. For they possess'd the utmost Bounds of *Italy*, which border'd upon the *Alpes*, and that part of the same Mountain which is wash'd by the *Tuscan* Sea, and were mingled with the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who inhabited the Coasts. Besides that time they were busie at Sea, and sailing as far as the *Streights mouth*, in light Vessels fitted for that purpose, robb'd and destroy'd all that traffick'd in those Parts. These waited the coming of *Emilius* with an Army of 40000, who brought with him

He is chosen
Consul,
and wages
War with
the *Liguri-
ans*.

The Character
of *Eli-
us Tube-
ro*.

him not above 8, so that the Enemy was fit to one when they engaged; yet did he vanquish and put them to flight, forcing them retire into their wall'd Towns, and in this condition gave them hopes of an Accommodation; it being the Policy of the Romans not utterly to destroy the *Ligurians* whilst they were as a Guard and Bulwark against the *Gauls*, who made such frequent attempts to over-run *Italy*. Trusting whom therefore to *Emilius*, they delivered up the Towns and Shipping into his hands: leaving only the Fortifications, and delivering their Towns to them again, but all the Shipping he took away with him, leaving them no Vessels bigger than those of three Oars, and set at liberty great numbers of Prisoners they had taken both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as *Romans*. These were the things most worthy of Remark, in the first year of his *Consulship*.

He stands
to be Consul
a second
time, but is
repuls'd.

Afterwards he frequently declared his Desire of being a second time *Consul*, and was once Candidate; but meeting with Repulse, and being pass'd by, mov'd no more in it, but was wholly intent upon his Office of *Augur*, and the Education of his Children whom he not only brought up as he himself was, in the *Roman* and ancient Discipline, but also in that of *Greece*, which was esteem'd more genteel and honourable.

For this purpose, he not only entertained Masters to teach them *Grammar*, *Logick*, and *Rhetorick*, but the Arts of making Statues and Painting, and also such as were skilful in breeding Horses and Dogs, and could instruct them in Hunting and Riding. And if he was not hindred by publick Affairs, he himself would be with them at their Studies, and see them perform their Exercises, being the most indulgent of Fathers amongst the *Romans*.

The Education of his Children.

As to Matters relating to the Commonwealth, at that time the *Romans* were engaged in a War with *Perseus*, King of the *Macedonians*, and highly blamed their Commanders, that either through their want of Skill or Courage, they so ill and shamefully manag'd the Concerns of the Commonwealth, that they did less hurt to the Enemy than they received from him. For they that not long before had forc'd *Antiochus* the Great to quit the West of *Asia*, and driving him beyond Mount *Taurus*, confin'd him to *Syria*, glad to buy his Peace with 15000 Talents. They that not long since had vanquish'd King *Philip* in *Thessaly*, and freed the *Greeks* from the *Macedonian* Yoke, nay, had overcome *Hannibal* himself, who far surpass'd all Kings in Bravery and Courage, thought it scorn that *Perseus* should think himself an Enemy fit to match the *Romans*, and to be able to wage War with them on equal

The Romans at War with *Perseus*, King of *Macedon*.

terms, with the remainder only of his Father's routed Forces; but they little weigh'd, that the *Macedonian* Army was become much more powerful and expert after the Overthrow of *Philip*. To make which appear, I shall briefly recount the Story from the beginning.

Perseus
his Extra-
tion.

Antigonus, who was the most potent and strongest the Captains and Successors of *Alexander*, having obtained for himself and his Posterity the Title of King, had a Son nam'd *Demetrius*, Father to *Antigonus*, call'd *Gonatus*, and he, to *Demetrius*, who reigning some short time, died, and left a young Son call'd *Philip*. The Nobility of *Macedon* fearing great Confusions might arise in the Minority of their Prince, trusted the Government in the hands of *Antigonus*, Cousin german to the late King, and married him to his Widow the Mother of *Philip*. At first they only styl'd him Regent and General, but when they found by experience that he govern'd the Kingdom with Moderation, and to their Advantage, they gave him the Title of King. This was he that was surnam'd * *Dofon*, as if he was only a promiser, not a performer of his words. To him succeeded *Philip*, who in his Youth gave great hopes of equalling the best of Kings, and that he one day would restore *Macedon* to its former State and Dignity, and be alone able to give a stop to the Power

* Δωσαν,
quan-
tates.

of the *Romans*, which was now a general Oppression to the World. But being vanquish'd in a pitch'd Battel by *Titus Flaminius*, near to *Scotusa*, his Resolution was dash'd, and he yielded himself and all that he had to the Mercy of the *Romans*, well contented that he could escape with paying a small Tribute. Yet afterwards reflecting himself, he bore it with great Regret, and thought he liv'd rather like a Slave that was pleas'd with ease, than a Man of Sense and Courage, whilst he held his Kingdom at the pleasure of his Conquerors, which made him resolve upon a War, and prepare himself with as much Cunning and Privacy as possible. To this end, he left his Cities on the high-Roads and Sea-Coast ungarrison'd, and almost desolate, that they might seem inconsiderable; in the mean time furnishing his mid-land Castles, strongholds and Towns, with Arms, Money, and Men fit for Service, he provided himself for War, and yet kept his Preparations close. He had in his Armory Arms for 30000 Men; in Granaries, in Places of Strength, 8 millions of Bushels of Corn, and as much ready Money, as would defray the Charge of maintaining 10000 mercenary Souldiers, to defend his Country for 10 years. But before he could put these things into motion, and bring his Designs to effect, he died

for grief and anguish of Mind, being sensible he had put his innocent Son *Demetrius* to death upon the Calumnies of one that was far more guilty, *Perseus* his Son that survived inherited his Hatred to the *Romans* as well as his Kingdom, but was very unfit to carry on his Designs, through his want of Courage, and the viciousness of his Manners, especially when amongst the Vices and Diseases of his Mind of all sorts, Covetousness bore the chief sway. There is a Report also of his not being legitimate, but that the Wife of King *Philip* took him from his Mother *Græbania*, (a Woman of *Argos*, that earn'd her living by Botching) as soon as he was born, and brought him up privately as her own. And this might be the chief Cause of his contriving the Death of *Demetrius*, for he might well fear, that whilst there was a lawful Successor in the Family, his being illegitimate would not lye conceal'd.

Notwithstanding all this, and tho' his Spirit was so mean, and temper so sordid, yet trusting to the strength of his Preparations, he engaged in a War with the *Romans*, and for a long time maintain'd it. Some of their Captains, and those of Consular Dignity and great Armies and Fleets he repulsed, and some of them he vanquish'd. For he overcame *Publius Licinius*, who was the first that invaded *Macedonia*, in a Battel of Horse-

His War
with the
Romans.

He over-
comes *Lici-
nius*.

men;

men; in which he slew 2500 stout Souldiers, and took 600 Prisoners: and surprizing their Fleet, as they rode at Anchor before *Orcum*, he took 20 Ships of Burden, with all their Lading, and sunk the rest that were freighted with Corn. Besides this, he made himself Master of 4 Galleys, with 5 Oars in a Seat; and fought another Battel with *Hostilius* the Consul, who making an Inroad into his Countrey by the way of *Emilia*, he forc'd to retreat; and when he afterwards by stealth design'd an Invasion through *Thessaly*, he urg'd him to fight, which the other fear'd to hazard. Nay more, to shew his Contempt of the *Romans*, and that he wanted Employment; as a War by the By, he made an Expedition against the *Dardanians*, in which he slew 10000 of those barbarous People, and brought a very great Spoyl away with him. He privately also solicited the *Gauls*, (they are also call'd *Bastarnæ*) a warlike Nation, and famous for Horsemen, dwelling near the *Danube*; and practised with the *Illyrians*, by the means of *Genthius* their King, to joyn with him in this War. It was also reported that the *Barbarians* being allured by him through the promise of Rewards, were to make an Irruption into *Italy*, through the lower parts of *Gallia Cisalpine*, near the *Adriatick Sea*.

The *Romans* being advertis'd of these things, thought it necessary no longer to choose

Surprizes
their Fleet.

Fights with
Hostilius.

Solicits the
Barbari-
ans to joyn
with him.

Emilius
2d. time
Consul.

choose their Commanders for Favour or Solicitation, but to pitch upon one for their General, that was a Man of Wisdom, and vers'd in the management of great Affairs. And such was *Paulus Emilius*, one well stricken in years, as being near threescore, yet vigorous in his own Person, and surrounded with his valiant Sons and Sons-in-law, besides a great number of very considerable Relations and Friends, who all of them perswaded him to yield to the Desires of the People, who call'd him to the *Consulship*. But he at first carried it nicely to the Vulgar, and as one averle to govern, refus'd both the Honour and Care that attended it; yet when they daily came to him to his Gate, urging him to come forth to the place of Election, and prosecuting him with noise and clamour, he granted their Request. When he appear'd amongst such as were Candidates, he did not look as if he were about to receive the *Consulship*, but to bring Victory and Success to the War; and as soon as he yielded to come down into the Field, they all received him with so great hopes and chearfulness of mind, that they unanimously chose him a second time *Consul*; nor would they suffer the Lots to be cast as was usual to determine which Province should fall to his share, but immediately decreed him the Command of the *Macedonian*

nian War. It is reported, that when he was design'd General against *Perseus*, and was honourably accompanied home by great numbers of People, he found his Daughter *Tertia*, a very little Girl, weeping, and making much of her, demanded why she cryed? She catching him about the Neck and kissing him, said, O Father, know you not that our *Perseus is dead*? meaning a little Dog of that Name that was brought up in the House with her: to which *Emilius* replied, Good Fortune, my Daughter, I embrace the Omen. This *Cicero* the Orator relates in his Book of Divination.

General, against the
Macedonians.

A good
Omen.

It was the Custom for such as were chosen *Consuls*, from a Pulpit design'd for such purposes, kindly to bespeak the People, and return them thanks for their Favour. *Emilius* therefore having gather'd an Assembly, spake as follows. That he sued for the first *Consulship*, because he himself stood in need of such Honour; but for the second, because they wanted a General; upon which account he thought there was no thanks due: if they judg'd they could manage the War by any other to more Advantage, he would willingly yield up his Charge; but if they confided in him, they were not to make themselves his Colleagues in his Office, or raise Reports, and censure his Actions, but without Reply, and to their utmost, to obey such Commands as were necessary to the carrying

Emilius
his Speech
to the People.

on

on the War; for if they endeavour'd to govern him who was to command, they would render this Expedition more ridiculous than the former. By this Speech he imprinted a Reverence for him amongst the Citizens, and great expectations of future Success, being all of them well pleased, that they had pass'd by such as sought to be preferr'd by Flattery, and pitch'd upon a Commander endu'd with Wisdom and Courage to tell them the truth. Thus the People of Rome were Servants, and obedient to Reason and Vertue, that they might Rule, and make themselves Masters of the World.

His Success
not to be as-
cribed to
Fortune.

Now that *Emilius*, setting forward to the War, by a prosperous Voyage and successful Journey, arrived with speed and safety at his Camp, I attribute to good Fortune: but when I consider the Concerns of the War and his Government, manag'd partly by his own daring Boldness, partly by his good Counsel, partly by the ready administration of his Friends, partly by his presentness of Mind, and skill to embrace the most proper Advice in the extremity of danger, I cannot ascribe any of his remarkable and famous Actions, (as I can those of other Commanders) to his so much celebrated good Fortune; unless you will say, that the Covetousness of *Perseus* was the good Fortune of *Emilius*. The truth is, the fear of spending his Money, was the destruction and

Perseus
ruin'd by
his Cove-
tousness.

and utter ruine of all those splendid and great Preparations, by whose Help the *Macedonians* were in hopes to carry on the War with Success. For there came at his Request 10000 Horse-men of the *Basternæ*, and as many Foot, who were to keep Peace with them, and supply their Places in case of failure, all of them mercenary Souldiers, a People neither skill'd in tilling of Land, or Merchandize, or able to get their Livings by Grafsing, but whose only business and perpetual study it was to fight and conquer those that resisted them. When these came near *Medica*, and were encamp'd and mix'd with the King's Souldiers, being Men of great Stature, admirable at their Exercises, great Boasters, and loud in their Threats against their Enemies, they added Courage to the *Macedonians*, who were ready to think, the *Romans* would not be able to abide their coming, struck with terror at their Looks and Motions, they were so strange and terrible to behold. When *Perseus* had thus encouraged his Men, and puff'd them up with so great Hopes, as soon as a 1000 Crowns were demanded for each Captain, he was so astonished and besides himself at the vastness of the Sum, that his Covetousness made him send them back, and refuse their Assistance, as if he had been the Steward, not the Enemy of the *Romans*, and was to give an exact account

A Descrip-
tion of the
Basternæ.

account of the Expences of the War, to those with whom he waged it. Nay, when he had his Foes for his Tutors, to instruct him what he had to do, who besides their other Preparations, had a 100000 Men drawn together, and in a readiness, when occasion should require their Service; yet he that was to engage against so considerable Force, and in such a War, whose necessary Expences must needs be very great, weigh'd and seal'd up his Money, as if he fear'd or had no right to touch it. And all this was done by one, not descended from the *Lydians* or *Phœnicians*, but who challeng'd to himself the Vertues of *Alexander* and *Philip*, from his Alliance to them; Men who conquer'd the World by judging, that Empire was to be purchased by Money, not Money by Empire; whence it grew a Proverb, that not *Philip* but his Gold took the Cities of *Greece*. And *Alexander*, when he undertook an Expedition against the *Indians*, and found his *Macedonians* encumbred, and to march heavily with their *Persian* Spoils, first set fire to his own Carriages, and thence perswaded the rest to imitate his Example, that thus freed, they might proceed to the War without hindrance. Whereas *Perseus*, abounding in Wealth, would not preserve himself, his Children, and his Kingdom, at the expence of a small part of his Treasure; but

but amongst a great many others, our wealthy Slave chose to be carried away Captive, and shew the *Romans* what great Riches he had husbanded and preserved for them. For he did not only falsifie with the *Gauls*, and send them away, but also alluring *Genthius*, King of the *Illyrians*, by the hopes of 300 Talents, to assist him in the War, he caused the Money to be told out by his Embassadors, and suffer'd it to be seal'd up. Whereupon *Genthius* thinking himself possess'd of what he desir'd, committed a wicked and dreadful Crime; for he imprison'd the Embassadors which were sent to him from the *Romans*. Whence *Perseus* concluding that there was now no need of Money, to make *Genthius* an Enemy to the *Romans*, but that he had given a lasting Earnest of his Enmity, and by his great injustice sufficiently involv'd himself in the War, defrauded the unfortunate King of his 300 Talents, and without any Concern beheld him, his Wife and Children, in a short time after carried out of their Kingdom, as from their Nest, by *Lucius Anicius*, who was sent against him with an Army.

Emilius coming against such an Adversary, made light of his Person, but admired his Preparations and Force. For he had 4000 Horse, and not much fewer than 40000 *Macedonian* Foot, and planting himself along the

He chisels
Genthius.

Perseus
his strength.
* Ma- * Περσεύς
his palace-
γα.

Emilius
his Con-
duct.

the Sea-side, at the foot of Mount *Olympus* in a Place impossible to be approach'd, and on all sides fortified with Fences and Bulwarks of Wood, remain'd in great security, thinking by Delay and Charge to weary out *Emilius*. But he in the mean time wholly intent on his Business, weigh'd all Counsels, and all ways of Attack, and perceiving his Souldiers, from their former want of Discipline, to be impatient of Delay, and ready on all turns to teach their General his Duty, angrily reprov'd them, and commanded that they should not intermeddle with what was not their Concern, but only take care that they and their Arms were in a readiness, and to use their Swords like *Romans*, when their Commander should think fit to employ them. Further, he order'd, that the Sentinels by Night should watch without Javelins, that thus they might be more careful and able to resist Sleep, having no Arms proper to withstand the Assaults of their Enemies.

His Army
wants Water,
how
supply'd.

That which most infested the Army, was the want of Water, (for only a little, and that foul, flow'd out, or rather came by drops from a Spring near the Sea;) but *Emilius* considering that he was at the foot of the high and woody Mountain *Olympus*, and conjecturing by the flourishing of the Trees, that there were Springs that had their courses

under

under ground, dug a great many Holes and Wells in the side of the Mountain, which were presently fill'd with pure Water, by the current and force of that, which being freed from restraint, had now space to unite. Although some deny, that there are any Sources of Water ready provided and concealed in the Places from whence they flow, which by their course are discovered and break forth; but affirm, that they owe their Being and Consistence to the Matter that then grows liquid: now this change is made by Density and Cold, when the moist Vapour by being closely press'd together, becomes fluid. As Womens Breasts are not like Vessels full of Milk, always prepar'd and ready to flow from them; but their Nourishment being chang'd in their Breasts, is there made Milk, and from thence strain'd. In like manner, the Places of the Earth that are cold and stor'd with Fountains, do not contain any hidden Waters or Receptacles which are capable as from a Source always ready and furnished, to supply so many Brooks, and the depths of so great Rivers; but pressing by crowding together, and condensing the Vapours and Air, they turn them into that Substance. Whence those Places that are opened, by that means do flow and afford more plenty of Water, as the Breasts of Women do

of the Original of Springs.

do Milk by their being suck'd) by moistning the Vapour, and rendring it fluid; whereas the Earth that remains idle and undug, is not capable of producing any Water, whilst it wants that motion which is the true Cause of it. But those that assert this Opinion, give occasion to the doubtful to argue, that on the same ground there should be no Blood in living Creatures, but that it must be form'd by the Wound, some sort of Spirit or Flesh being chang'd into a Matter that is liquid, and proper to flow. Moreover, these are refuted by such who digging deep in the Earth to undermine some strong-Hold, or search for Metals, meet with Rivers, which are not collect'd by little and little, (which must necessarily be, if they had their Beings at the very instant the Earth was open'd) but break out at once with violence; and upon the cutting through a Rock, there often gushes out great quantities of Water, and then suddenly ceases. But of this enough.

Emilius lay still for some days, and it is said, that there were never two great Armies so nigh, that enjoyed so much Quiet. When he had tryed and considered all things, he was informed, that there was yet one Passage left unguarded through *Perrebia* * by the Temple of *Appollo*, and the great *Pe-*

Perrebia. Having therefore more Hopes, by reason

* Η αὐτὴ
τὸ Πύδιον
καὶ τὴν πέ-
τραν.
This Place
is still
call'd Py-
thagone
in the mo-
dern Grek.
Emilius
sent *Na-*
fica to sur-
prise the
Enemy by
the way of
Perrebia.

the Place was left defenceless, than Fears, be- cause of the roughness and difficulty of the Passage, he propos'd it to be consult'd on. Amongst those that were present at the Counsel, *Scipio* furnam'd *Nasica*, Son-in-law to *Scipio Africanus*, who afterwards bore such great Sway in the Senate-house, was the first that offer'd himself to command those that should be sent to encompass the Enemy. Next to him *Fabius Maximus*, eldest Son of *Emilius*, although yet very young, offer'd himself with very great Chearfulness. *Emilius* rejoycing at this, gave them, not so many as *Polybius* relates, but as many as *Nasica* himself tells us he took, in that short Epistle he writ to a certain King concerning this Expedition: for he had 3000 *Italians* that were not *Romans*, and his left Wing consisted of 5000; besides these, taking with him 120 Horse-men, and 200 *Thracians* and *Cretans* intermix'd, that *Harpalus* had sent, he began his Journey towards the Sea, and encamp'd near the Temple of *Hercules*, as if he design'd to embark, and so to sail round and environ the Enemy. But when the Souldiers had supp'd, and that it was dark, he made the Captains acquainted with his real Intentions, and marching all night a quite contrary way to that of the Sea, till he came under the Temple of *Apollo* *Pithius*, he there rested his Army. In this

*To height
of Mount
Olympus.*

Place, Mount *Olympus* stretches it self in height more than ten Furlongs, as appears by this Epigram made by him that measured it.

*Thy top, Olympus, measur'd from the Place,
The Pythian Temple does so nobly grace,
Ten compleat Furlongs does in height exceed.
—— Xenagoras this did leave upon Record,
He travell'd here, here he that God ador'd.*

'Tis confess'd, *Geometricians* affirm, that no Mountain in height or Sea in depth exceeds ten Furlongs; yet it seems probable, that *Xenagoras* took not his Measures at all adventures, but according to the Rules of Art, and with Instruments fit for that purpose. Here it was that *Nasica* pass'd the night.

*Nasica his
Design discover'd.*

A traiterous *Cretian* who fled to the Enemy in the March, discovered to *Perseus* the Design which the *Romans* had to compass him: who seeing *Emilius* lay still, mistrusted no such Attempt. He was startled at the News, yet removed not his Camp, but sent 2000 mercenary Soldiers, and 2000 *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Milo*, with Order to hasten with all Diligence, and possess themselves of the Streights. *Polybius* relates, that the *Romans* set upon them whilst they slept; but *Nasica*, that there was a sharp and

and dangerous Conflict on the top of the Mountain; that he himself encountred a mercenary *Thracian*, pierc'd him through with his dart and slew him; and that the Enemy being forc'd to retreat, and *Milo* stript to his Coat, shamefully flying without his Armour, he followed without danger, and all the Army march'd down into the Countrey.

These things happening to *Perseus*, now grown fearful, and fallen from his Hopes, he removed his Camp in all haste, yet was it necessary for him either to stop before *Pydne*, and there run the hazard of a Battel, or disperse his Army into Cities, and there expect the event of the War, which being once entred into his Country, could not be driven out without great Slaughter, and Bloodshed. But *Perseus* being told by his Friends, that he was much superior in number, and that such as fought in the defence of their Wives and Children, must needs be endued with great Courage, especially when all things were done in the sight of their King, who himself was engaged in equal danger, was again encouraged, and pitching his Camp, prepared himself to fight, view'd the Countrey, gave out the Commands, as if he design'd to let upon the *Romans* as soon as they approach'd. The Place was a Field both proper to draw up a Phalanx, which required a plain

*Perseus
removes his
Camp.*

*Prepares to
fight.*

*The Places
of Battel.*

plain Valley and even Ground, and also by divers little Hills one joyn'd to another, which serv'd for a Retreat to such as were lightly arm'd, and fitted to skirmish, and gave them withal Opportunities to encompass the Enemy; through the middle of the Rivers *Eson* and *Leucus*, which though not very deep, it being the latter end of Summer, yet were they likely enough to give the *Romans* some trouble.

Emilius joins again with Nasica.

As soon as *Emilius* was joyned to *Nasica*, he advanced in Battel-array against the Enemy; but when he found how they were drawn up, and the number of their Forces, he stood still as one amazed, and considering within himself. But the young Commander being eager to fight, press'd him earnestly not to delay, and most of all *Nasica* flush'd with his late Success on *Olympus*. To whom *Emilius* answer'd with a Smile: *So would I were I of your Age, but my many Victories have taught me the Miscarriages of the Conqueror, and forbid me to engage such as are weary with their long March, against an Army so well drawn up and prepar'd for Battel.*

Emilius encamps.

Then he gave Command, that the Front of his Army, and such as were in sight of the Enemy, should imbattel themselves, as ready to engage, and those in the Rear should call up the Trenches, and fortifie the Camp; so that the foremost of his Men still wheeling on

by degrees, their whole Order was chang'd, the Battel insensibly broke, and all his Army incamped without noise.

When it was Night, and no Man after his Supper thought of any thing but Sleep and Rest, all on a sudden the Moon, which was then at Full, and great height, grew dark, and by degrees losing her Light, cast divers sort of Colours, till at length she was totally eclipsed. The *Romans*, according to their Custom, with the noise of brass Pans, and lifting up a great many Firebrands and Torches, endeavoured to recover her Light: whilst the *Macedonians* behav'd themselves far otherwise; for Horror and Amazement seiz'd their whole Army, and a Rumour crept by degrees into their Camp, that this Eclipse portended no less than that of their King. But *Emilius*, that was no Novice in these things, but very well understood the seeming Irregularities of Eclipses, and that in a certain Revolution of Time, the Moon in her Course was obscur'd and hid by the Shadow of the Earth, till passing that Region of Darkness, she is again enlightned by the Sun. Yet being very devout, a religious Observer of Sacrifices, and well skill'd in the Art of Divination, as soon as he perceiv'd the Moon regain'd her former Lustre, he offer'd up to her a 11 Heifers; at the break of day he sacrific'd 20 to *Hercules*, without

An Eclipse of the Moon.

The Reason of an Eclipse.

any token that his Offering was accepted; but at the one and twentieth the Signs promis'd Victory to such as were forc'd to defend themselves. Then he vow'd a He-catomb and Solemn Sports to *Hercules*, and commanded his Captains to make ready for Battel, staying only till the Sun should decline, and come about to the West, lest being in their Faces in the Morning, it should dazle the Eyes of his Souldiers; so he whil'd away the time in his Tent, which was open towards the Valley where his Enemies were incamp'd. When it grew towards Evening, some tell us, *Emilius* himself laid the following Design, that the Enemy might first begin the Fight: he turn'd loose a Horse without a Bridle, and sent some of the *Romans* to catch him, upon whose following the Beast, the Battel begun. Others relate, that the *Thracians*, under the Command of one *Alexander*, set upon the *Roman* Carriages that brought Forrage to the Camp: that to oppose these, a Party of 700 *Ligurians* were immediately detach'd and that Relief coming still from both Armies, the main Bodies were at last engag'd. *Emilius*, like a wise Pilot, foreseeing by the present Waves and Motion of the Armies, the greatness of the following Storm, came out of his Tent, went through the Legions, and encourag'd his Souldiers.

Nasica

*The Rise of
the Battel.*

Nasica in the mean time, who was advanc'd to the Place where the Skirmish began, saw the whole force of the Enemy preparing to engage. First march'd the *Thracians*, who, he himself tells us, were very terrible to behold; for they were Men of great Stature, with bright and glistering Shields, their Cassocks were black, their Legs arm'd with Greaves, and as they mov'd, their weighty long Spears shook on their Shoulders. Next the *Thracians*, march'd the mercenary Souldiers, arm'd after the different Fashions of their Countreys; and with these the *Peonians* were mingl'd. These were follow'd by a 3d. Body of *Macedonians*, all chosen Men, of known Courage, and all in the prime of their Age, who glitter'd in their gilt Armour, and new scarlet Coats. Behind these were the old Bands drawn out of the Camp, all arm'd with brass Targets; the whole Plain shin'd with the brightness of their Arms, and the Mountains rang with their Noises and Shouts, by which they gave mutual Encouragement one to the other. In this Order they march'd, and that with such Boldness and Speed, that those that were first slain, died but at two Furlongs distance from the *Roman* Camp. The Battel being begun, *Emilius* came in, and found that the foremost of the *Macedonians*, had already pitch'd the end of their Spears into the Shields of his

Romans,

*The Army
of the Ma-
cedonians,
and Order
of their
March.*

*The Battel
between E-
milius and
Perseus.*

Romans, so that it was impossible to come near them with their Swords. When he saw this, and that the rest of the *Macedonians* took the Shields that hung on their Backs, and brought them before them, and all at once stoop'd their Pikes against their Enemies Bucklers, and well consider'd the great Strength of their united Targets, and dreadful Appearance of a Front so arm'd, he was seiz'd with Amazement and Fear, as not having seen any thing more terrible, nor would he stick afterwards to give a Relation of this Sight, and his own Dread. But this he dissembled, and rode through his Army without either Breast-plate or Helmet, with a pleasant and chearful Countenance.

Perseus
his Cowardice.

On the contrary, (as *Polybus* relates) no sooner was the Battel begun, but the *Macedonian* King basely withdrew to the City *Pidne*, under a pretence of sacrificing to *Hercules*; a God that is not wont to regard the faint Offerings of Cowards, or grant such Requests as are unjust, it not being reasonable, that he that never shoots, should carry away the Prize; he triumph, that sneaks from the Battel; he that takes no pains meet with success, or the wicked man prosper. But to *Emilius* his Petitions the God listned, for he pray'd for Victory with his Sword in his hand, and 'twas fighting that he implor'd his divine Assistance.

But

But *Possidonius*, who writ the History of *Perseus*, and tells us he liv'd at that time, and was himself in this Battel, denies that he left the Field either through fear or pretence of Sacrificing, but that the very day before the Fight, he receiv'd a Kick from a Horse on his Thigh; that though very much indispos'd, and dissuaded by all his Friends, he commanded one of his Pads to be brought, and enter'd the Field unarm'd; that amongst an infinite number of Darts that flew about on all sides, one of Iron lighted on him, and though not with the point, yet by a glance hit him with such force on his left Side, that it rent his Cloaths, and so bruise'd his Flesh, that the Scar remain'd a long time after. This is what *Possidonius* says in defence of King *Perseus*.

The Romans not being able to make a Breach in the *Phalanx*, one *Salius*, a Commander of the *Pelignians*, snatch'd the Ensign of his Company, and threw it amongst the Enemies; which as soon as the *Pelignians* perceiv'd, (for the *Italians* esteem it base and dishonourable to abandon their Standard) they rush'd with great violence towards that Place, and the Conflict was very fierce; and the Slaughter terrible on both sides: for these endeavour'd to cut their Spears asunder with their Swords, or to beat them back with their Shields, or put them by

Salius
flings his
Ensign a-
mongst his
Enemies.

The Romans
forc'd to
retreat.

The Phalanx broken
by Emilius.

by with their Hands; on the other side, the *Macedonians* held their Pikes in both hands, and pierc'd those that came in their way, and their Armour quite through, no Shield or Corset being able to resist the force of their Spears. The *Pelignians* were thrown headlong to the Ground, who against all Reason, and more like Bruits than Men, had run upon unavoidable Dangers, and certain Death: and their first Ranks being slain, those that were behind were forc'd to give back; it cannot be said they fled, but that they retreated towards Mount *Olocrus*. When *Emilius* saw this (as *Possidonius* relates) he rent his Cloaths, for some of his Men were ready to fly, the rest were not willing to engage with a Phalanx, into which they could hope for no Entrance, but seem'd altogether unconquerable, and as secure as if intrench'd, whilst guarded with such great numbers of Pikes, which on all sides threatned the Assailers. Nevertheless the Unequalness of the Ground, would not permit the Body that was long, to be so exactly drawn up, as to have their Shields every where joyn'd: but *Emilius* perceiv'd that there were a great many Interstices and Breaches in the *Macedonian* Phalanx; as it usually happens in all great Armies, according to the different Efforts of the Combatants, whilst in one part they press forward with eagerness, and in another are forc'd to give back.

back. Wherefore taking this Occasion, with all speed he divided his Men into small Companies, and gave them Order to fall into the Intervals, and void Places of the Enemies Body, and to make their Attack not in any one Place with them all, but to engage, as they were divided into Parties, in several. These Commands *Emilius* gave to his Captains, and they to their Souldiers; who had no sooner enter'd the Spaces, and separated their Enemies, but some charg'd them on their sides where they were naked and expos'd, others fetching a Compass, set on them behind, and these destroy'd the force of the Phalanx, which consisted in their mutual Help, and being closely united. And now come to fight Man to Man, or in small Parties, the *Macedonians* smote in vain upon firm and long Targets with their little Swords, whilst their slight Shields were not able to sustain the weight and force of those of the Romans, which pierc'd through all their Armour to their Bodies, so that at length they fled. Very sharp was the Fight, in the Place where *Marcus*, the Son of *Cato*, and Son-in-law of *Emilius*, whilst he shew'd all possible Courage, let fall his Sword: for he being a young Man, educated according to the Principles of Honour, and as Son of so renown'd a Father, oblig'd to give Testimonies of more than ordinary Vertue, thought his Life but a burden

The Valour
of Marcus
Cato.

* Three in the Afternoon.

burden, should he live and permit his Enemies to enjoy this Spoil. Wherefore he speeded through the Army, and where ever he spy'd a Friend or Companion, declar'd his Misfortune, and begg'd their Assistance: the number of these being great and valiant, they with one accord made their way through their Fellows after their Leader, and fell upon the Enemy; whom after a sharp Conflict, many Wounds, and much Slaughter, they repuls'd, possess'd the Place that was now deserted and free, and set themselves to search for the Sword, which at last they found cover'd with great heaps of Arms and dead Carcasses. Overjoy'd with this Success, they sang Songs of Triumph, and with more eagerness than ever charg'd the Foes that yet remain'd firm and unbroke. In the end, 3000 of the choicest Men, who kept their Stations, and fought valiantly to the last, were all cut in pieces, and very great was the Slaughter of such as fled, insomuch as the Plain and the Hills were fill'd with dead Bodies, and the Waters of the River *Leucus*, which the *Romans* did not pass till the next day after the Battle, was then mingled with Blood; for it is said there fell more than 25000 of the Enemy of the *Romans*, as *Possidonius* relates, a 1000 as *Nasica*, only fourscore. This Battle though so great, was very quickly decided

it being * 9 of the Clock when they first engag'd, and not 10 when the Enemy was vanquish'd; the rest of the day was spent in the pursuit of such as fled, whom they follow'd 120 Furlongs, so that it was far in the Night when they return'd.

All the rest were met by their Servants with Torches, and brought back with Joy and great Triumph to their Tents, which were set out with Lights, and deck'd with Wreaths of Joy and Laurel. But the General himself was overwhelm'd with Grief; for of the two Sons that serv'd under him in the War, the youngest was missing, whom he held most dear, and whose Courage and good Qualities, he knew, much excell'd those of his Brethren; and though yet a Stripling, that he was valiant, and thirsting after Honour, which made him conclude he was lost, whilst for want of Experience he had too far engag'd himself amongst his Enemies. The whole Army was sensible of his Dejection and Sorrow, and quitting their Supporters, ran about with Lights, some to *Emilius* his Tents, some out of the Trenches, to seek him amongst such as were slain in the first Onset. There was nothing but Grief in the Camp, and the Valley was fill'd with the Cryes of such as call'd out for *Scipio*; for from his very Youth, he was endu'd above any of his Equals, with all the good Qualities

Emilius his grief for the supposed loss of his Son Scipio.

Scipio his character.

lities

lities requisite either to command or Counsel. At length when it was late, and they almost despair'd, he return'd from the Pursuit, with only two or three of his Companions, all cover'd with the fresh Blood of his Enemies, having, like a well-bred Dog follow'd the Chase with too eager pleasure of Victory. This was that *Scipio* that afterwards destroy'd *Carthage* and *Numantium*; that was, without Dispute, the valiantest of the *Romans*, and had the greatest Authority amongst them. Thus Fortune deferring the execution of her Spite at so brave an Exploit, to some other time, let *Emilius* at present enjoy this Victory, with full Satisfaction and Delight.

*Perseus
flies in Dis-
guise.*

As for *Perseus*, from *Pydne* he fled to *Pella* with his Horse-men, which were as yet almost entire. But when the Foot met them, and upbraiding them as Cowards and Traytors, threw them off their Horses, and fell to Blows, *Perseus*, fearing the Tumult, forsook the common Road, and lest he should be known, pull'd off his Purple, and carry'd it before him, and took his Crown in his hand, and that he might the better converse with his Friends, alighted from his Horse and led him. Of those that were about him, one pretended to tie his shoe that was loose, another to water his Horse, a third to drink himself; so that thus lagging behind

they

they by degrees left him, as having not so much reason to fear their Enemies, as his cruelty, who fretted at his misfortune, sought to free himself, by laying the cause of the overthrow upon every body else. He arrived at *Pella* in the night, where *Eastus* and *Eudens* two of his Treasurers came to him, and what with their reflecting on his former miscarriages, and their free and mistimed admonitions and counsels, so exasperated him, that he kill'd them both, stabbing them with his own dagger. After this, no body stuck to him but *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archedemus* the *Etolian*, and *Neo* the *Beotian*: and of the common Souldiers there followed him only those from *Crete*, not out of any good will, but that they were as constant to his Riches, as the Bees to their Hive. For he carried a great treasure with him, out of which he had suffered them to take Cups, Bowls, and other vessels of Silver and Gold, to the value of fifty talents. But when he was come to *Amphipolis*, and afterwards to *Alepse*, and his fears were a little abated, he relapsed into his old and natural disease of Covetousness, and bewailed to his Friends that he had through inadvertency distributed the gold Plate belonging to *Alexander* the Great amongst the *Cretans*, and beseeched those that had it, with tears in his eyes, to exchange with him again for money. Those that

His Cruelty.

And Covetousness.

P

understood

understood him throughly knew very well he only plaid the *Cretan* with those of *Crete*; but those that believed him, and restored what they had, were cheated; for he not only did not pay the Money, but by craft got thirty Talents more of his friends into his hands; (which in a short time after fell to the Enemy) and with them sail'd into *Samothracia*, and there fled to the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* for refuge.

All Macedonia de-
ver'd up to
Emilius.

The *Macedonians* were always accounted great lovers of their Kings, but now, as if their chief prop was broken; they submitted themselves with an unanimous consent to *Emilius*, and in two days made him Master of their whole Country. Which seems to confirm their opinion, who ascribe whatsoever he did to his good fortune; to which agreed the Omen that happen'd to the Sacrifice at *Amphipolis*, where *Emilius* being about to offer, and the holy Rites begun, on a sudden the Lightning fell upon the Altar, set the Wood on fire, and sanctify'd the Sacrifice. But above all, that of Fame does far exceed all they tell us of the Gods, or his good Fortune: for the 4th. day after *Perseus* was vanquish'd at *Pydne*, whilst the People were beholding the running of the Horses in the Place design'd for those Games, there arose an unexpected Report at the entrance of the Theatre, that *Emilius* had overcome

Perseus,

Perseus, and brought all *Macedonia* under his Power, and from thence, when the Rumour was spread amongst the People, there was a general Joy, with Shoutings and Acclamations for that whole day through the City. But when no certain Author was found of the News, and every one alike had taken it on trust, it vanish'd for the present and came to nothing, till within a few days after these tydings came certainly confirm'd, and then the first Intelligence was look'd upon as no less than a Miracle, whilst it could be no other than feign'd, though it contain'd in it what was real and true. It is reported also, that the News of a Battel that was fought in *Italy*, near the River *Sagra*, was carry'd into *Peloponnesus* the same day, and of that night *Mycala*, against the *Medes*, to *Platee*. When the *Romans* had defeated the *Tarquins*, who were combin'd with the *Latins*, there were almost at the same time at *Rome* seen two goodly tall Men, who themselves brought the News from the Camp. The first Man that spake to them in the Market-place near the Fountain, where they were refreshing their Horses which were all of a Fome, much wondred at the Report of the Victory, when, 'tis said they both smil'd and gently strok'd his Beard with their hands, the Hairs of which from being black, was on the Spot chang'd to be yellow.

Examples
of the like.

This News
miraculously
convey'd to
Rome.

This Circumstance gave credit to what they said, and fix'd the Name of *Enobarbus* (which is as much as yellow Beard) on the Man. But that which happen'd in our own Time, will make all these credible? for when *Antony* rebell'd against *Domitian*, and *Rome* was in a Consternation, expecting great Wars in *Germany*, all on a sudden, and nobody knows upon what account, the People spread abroad a Rumour of the Victory, and the News ran current through the City, that *Antony* himself was slain, his whole Army destroy'd, and that not so much as a part of it escap'd: nay this belief carry'd with it such Clearness and Force, that many of the Magistrates offer'd up Sacrifices. But when at length the Author of this Report was sought, and none was to be found, it vanish'd by degrees, whilst every one shifted it off, from himself to another, and at last was lost in the numberless Crowd, as in a vast Ocean, and having no solid Ground to support its Credit, was in a short time not so much as nam'd in the City. Nevertheless when *Domitian* march'd out with his Forces to the War, he met with Messengers and Letters, that gave him a Relation of the Victory; and the Fame of this Conquest came the very day it was gain'd, though the distance of the places was more than 2500 miles. The truth of this no Man amongst us can be ignorant of.

But

But to proceed: *Cneius Octavius*, who was *Perseus* joyn'd in Command with *Emilius*, came to an Anchor with his Fleet under *Samothrace*, where out of his Devotion to the Gods, he permitted *Perseus* to enjoy the benefit of Refuge, but took care that he should not escape by Sea. Notwithstanding *Perseus* secretly practis'd with *Oroandes* of *Crete*, who was Master of a Bark, to convey him and his Treasure away. He, making use of the common Arts of his Country, took in the Treasure, and advis'd him to come in the Night with his Wife, Children, and necessary Attendants, to the Port call'd *Demetrius*, but as soon as it was Evening, set Sayl without him. Miserable was now the Fate of *Perseus*, who was forc'd to let down himself, his Wife and Children, through a narrow Window by a Wall, People altogether unaccustom'd to hardship and Flying. But that which yet fetch'd deeper Sighs from his Heart was, when he was told by one, as he wondred on the Shore, that he saw *Oroandes* under Sayl in the Main Sea, for now it was Day. So that there being no Hopes left of Escaping, he fled back again to the Wall, which he and his Wife recover'd (though they were seen by the *Romans*) before they could reach them. His Children he himself had deliver'd into the hands of *Ion*, one that had been his Favourite, but

P 3

now

now prov'd his Betrayer, and was the chief Cause that forc'd him (and tis no other than Beasts themselves will do when their young ones are taken) to come and yield himself up to those that had them in their Power. His greatest Confidence was in *Nasica*, and 'twas to him he call'd, but he not being there, he bewayl'd his Misfortune, and seeing there was no possible Remedy, surrender'd himself to *Octavius*. And here it was that he made it manifest, that he was possess'd with a Vicemore fordid than Covetousness it self, to wit, the fondness of Life; by which he depriv'd himself even of Pity, the only thing that Fortune never takes away from the most wretched: for he desir'd to be brought to *Emilius*, who arose from his Seat, and accompany'd with his Friends, went to receive him with Tears in his Eyes, as a great Man fallen by the Anger of the Gods, and his own ill Fortune; whilst *Perseus*, which was the most scandalous of Sights, threw himself at his Feet, embrac'd his Knees, and utter'd such unmanly Cryes and Petitions, as *Emilius* was not able to bear, or would vouchsafe to hear: but looking on him with a sad and angry Countenance; 'What (says he) miserable as thou art, dost thou thus discharge Fortune, of what might seem her greatest Crime? for by these Actions thou appearest worthy of thy Calamity

*Emilius
his Speech
to Perseus.*

'Calamity, and that it is not your present Condition, but your former Happiness, that was more than your Deserts. What! do you thus take away from my Victory, and make my Conquest little, by proving your self a Coward and a Foe below a *Roman*? The most unhappy Valour challenges a great Respect, even from Enemies; but Cowardise, though never so successful, from the *Romans* always met with Scorn. Yet for all this he took him up, gave him his Hand, and deliver'd him into the Custody of *Tubero*.

After this, he carry'd his Sons, his Sons-in-law, and others of the chiefest Quality, especially those of the younger sort, back with him into his Tent, where for a long time he sat down without speaking one word, insomuch that they all wondred at him. At last, he began to discourse of Fortune and humane Affairs. 'Is it meet (says *his Speech to the young Men.* he) for him that knows he is but a Man, in his greatest Prosperity to pride himself, and be exalted at the Conquest of a City, Nation, or Kingdom, and not rather well to weigh this Change of Fortune, which proposes a great Example to all Warriors of our common Frailty, and teaches them this Lesson, that there is nothing to be accounted durable or constant? For what time can Men choose to think themselves secure, when

'when that of Victory it self must chiefly
'force us to dread our own Fortune; and
'little Consideration of the Fate of Things
'and how all are hurry'd round, and each
'man's Station chang'd, will introduce Sad-
'ness in the midst of greatest Mirth? Or can
'you, when you see before your Eyes the Suc-
'cession of *Alexander* himself, who arriv'd at
'the height of Power, and rul'd the greatest
'Empire, in the short space of an hour trod-
'den under foot? When you behold a King,
'that was but even now surrounded with so
'numerous an Army, receiving Nourishment
'to support his Life, from the Hands of his
'Conquerors: can you, I say, believe, there
'is any Certainty in what we now possess,
'whilst there is such a thing as Chance?
'No, young Men, cast off that vain Pride,
'and empty Boast of Victory; sit down
'with Modesty, and always think on what's
'to come, and what, through the spite of For-
'tune, may be yet the end of this our present
'Happiness. 'Tis said, *Emilius* having spoke
much more to the same purpose, dismiss'd
the young Men well chastiz'd, and with this
Oration, as with a Bridle, curb'd their Vain-
glory and Insolence.

When this was done, he put his Ar-
my into Garisons, to refresh themselves,
and went himself to visit *Greece*; a Plea-
sure not more honourable, than condu-

cing

Emilius
goes into
Greece.

cing to the Benefit of Mankind. For as
he pass'd, he eas'd the Peoples Grievances,
reform'd their Government, and bestow'd
Gifts upon them; to some Corn, to others
Oyl out of the King's Store-houses, in which
(they report) there was so vast Quanti-
ties laid up, that there sooner wanted Re-
ceivers, and such as needed, than they
could be exhausted. In *Delphos* he found a
great square Pillar of white Marble, design'd
for the Pedestal of King *Perseus* his Statue,
on which he commanded his own to be
plac'd, alledging, that it was but just, that
the Conquered should give place to the Con-
querors. In *Olympia* he is said to have ut-
ter'd that so known Speech, *That Phidias*
had carv'd Homers Jupiter. When the ten
Commissioners arriv'd from *Rome*, he de-
liver'd up again to the *Macedonians* their
Cities and Countrey, granting them to live
at liberty, and according to their own Laws,
only yielding to the *Romans* the Tribute of
a hundred Talents, when they were wont
to pay double the Sum to their Kings.
Then he celebrated all manner of Shews,
and Games, and Sacrifices to the Gods,
and made great Entertainments and Feasts;
the Charge of all which he liberally
defray'd out of the King's Treasury;
and shewed that he understood the or-
dering and placing of his Guests, and
how

how every Man should be receiv'd, answerable to their several Ranks and Qualities, with such nice-Exactness, that the Grecians were very much wondred, that the Care and Experience of these things of Pleasure should not escape him, and that a Man involv'd in so great Business, should observe the Decency of such little Matters. That which very much satisfy'd him was, that amidst such magnificent and splendid Preparations, he himself was always the most grateful Sight, and greatest Pleasure to those he entertain'd. And he told them that seem'd to wonder at his Diligence, *That there was the same Spirit shewn in marshalling a Banquet as an Army, whilst the one was to be rendred very dreadful to the Enemy, the other very acceptable to the Guests.* Nor did Men less praise his Liberality, and the greatness of his Mind, than his other Vertues: for he would not so much as see those great Quantities of Silver and Gold, which were heap'd together out of the King's Palaces, but deliver'd them to the Questors, to be put into the Publick Treasury. He only permitted his own Sons, who were great Lovers of Learning, to take the King's Books; and when he distributed such Rewards as were due to extraordinary Valour, he gave his Son-in-law, *Elius Tubero*, a Bowl that weigh'd five pounds: this is that *Tubero* we have already mention'd, who was

one

one of the sixteen Relations that liv'd together, and were all maintain'd out of one little Farm: and 'tis said, that this was the first Plate that ever enter'd the House of the *Emilians*, and that brought thither, as an Honour and Reward of Vertue; for before this time, neither they nor their Wives would ever make use either of Silver or Gold.

Having thus well settled Things, taking his leave of the *Grecians*, and exhorted the *Macedonians*, that mindful of that Liberty they had receiv'd from the *Romans*, they should endeavour to maintain it, by their Obedience to the Laws, and Concord amongst themselves, he departed for *Epire*; for he had Orders from the Senate, to give the Souldiers that follow'd him in the War against *Perseus*, the Pillage of the Cities of that Countrey. Wherefore that he might set upon them all at once, and that by Surprize and unawares, he summon'd ten of the principal Men out of every City, whom he commanded on such an appointed day, to bring all the Gold and Silver they had either in their private Houses or Temples; and with every one of these, as if it were for this very purpose, and under a pretence of searching for and receiving the Gold, he sent a Centurion, and a Guard of Souldiers; who, the set day being come, rose all at once, and at the very self-

He goes into
Epire.

self-same time fell upon them, and set themselves to invade and ranfack their Enemies, so that in one hour a hundred and fifty thousand Persons were made Slaves, and three score and ten Cities sack'd. Yet what was given to each Souldier, out of so vast Destruction and utter Ruine, amounted to no more than eleven Drachms; which made all Men dread the Issue of a War, when the Wealth of a whole Nation thus divided, turn'd to so little Advantage and Profit to each particular Man.

He returns
into Italy.

When *Emilius* had done this, which was perfectly contrary to his gentle and mild Nature, he went down to *Oricum*, where he embark'd his Army for *Italy*. He sail'd up the River *Tibur* in the King's Galley, that had sixteen Oars on a side, and was richly adorn'd with the Armour of the Prisoners, and with Cloaths of Purple and Scarlet; so that rowing the Vessel slowly against the Stream, the Romans that crowded on the Shore to meet him, had a taste of his following Triumph. But the Souldiers who had cast a covetous Eye on the Treasures of *Perseus*, when they did not obtain what they thought they so well deserv'd, were not only secretly enrag'd and angry with *Emilius* for it, but openly complain'd, that he had been a severe and tyrannical Commander over them; nor

were

were they ready to shew their desire of his Triumph. When *Servius Galba*, who was *Emilius* his Enemy, though he commanded a thousand Men under him, understood this, he was so hardy, as plainly to affirm, that a Triumph was not to be allow'd him, and sow'd divers Calumnies amongst the Souldiers, which yet further increas'd their ill will: nay more, he desir'd the Tribunes of the People, because the four hours that were remaining of the day, could not suffice for the Accusation, that he would put it off till another. But when the Tribunes commanded him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long Oration, stuff'd with all manner of Reproaches, in which he spent the remaining part of the time, and the Tribunes, when it was dark, dismiss'd the Assembly. The Souldiers growing more vehement by this, throng'd all to *Galba*, and entring into a Conspiracy, early in the Morning again beset the Capitol, where the Tribunes had appointed the following Assembly to be held. As soon as it was day, it was put to the Vote, and the first Tribe with a general Consent rejected the Triumph. When what was done, was spread about, and understood by the rest of the Assembly, the common People declar'd themselves very much griev'd, that *Emilius* should meet with such Ignominy: but

Galba endeavours to hinder his Triumph.

this

this was only in words, which had no effect: whilst the chief of the Senate exclaimed against it as a base Action, and excited another to repress the Boldness and Insolence of the Souldiers, which, if not timely prevented, would in a while become altogether ungovernable and violent, when they saw already they went about to deprive *Emilius* of his Triumph. Wherefore driving away the Crowd, they came up in great Numbers and desir'd the Tribunes to defer Polling till they had spoken what they had to say to the People. All things thus suspended, and Silence being made, *Marcus Servilius* stood up, a Man of Consular Dignity, and who had kill'd 23 of his Enemies, that had challeng'd him in single Combat. 'Tis more than ever (says he) that I understand how great a Commander our *Paulus Emilius* is when I see he was able to perform such famous and great Exploits, with an Army so full of Sedition and Baseness: nor can I enough admire, that a People that seem'd to glory in the Triumphs over the Illyrians and Africans should now through Envy refuse to see the Macedonian King led alive captive, and all the Glory of Philip and Alexander subdu'd by the Roman Power. For is it not a strange thing to you, who upon a slight rumour of Victory, should come by chance into the City, did offer Sacrifices, and put up your Requests unto the Gods

that you might see the Report verify'd, now when the General is return'd with an undoubted Conquest, to defraud the Gods of Honour, and your selves of Joy, as if you fear'd to behold the greatness of his warlike Deed, or were resolv'd to spare the King. And of the two, much better were it to put a stop to the Triumph, out of pity unto him, than out of envy to your General: yet to such a height of Power and Malice arriv'd amongst you, that one in a whole Skin, shining fat with Ease, and nicely bred in Shades, dares talk of the Office of a General and a Triumph, and that before you, who by your own many words, have learn'd to judge of the Valour or the Cowardise of your Commanders. And at the same time putting aside his Garment, he shew'd an infinite number of Scars upon his Breasts, and turning about, discover'd those Parts which it is not decent to expose. Then applying himself to *Galba*: Thou (says he) deride me for these, in which I glory before my fellow-Citizens, for 'tis in their Service in which I have rode night and day, that I receiv'd them; but go on to collect the Votes, whilst I follow after, and note the base and ungrateful, and such as choose rather to obey the Rabble in War, than to be commanded by their General. 'Tis said, this Speech so stopp'd the Souldiers' Mouths, and alter'd their Minds; that all the Tribes decreed a Triumph for *Emilius*;

Servilius
his Speech.

Emilius; which was perform'd after this manner:

*Emilius
his Triumph
describ'd.*

The People erected Scaffolds in the Market, and Places where the running of Horses us'd to be seen, (they are call'd by them *Cirques*) and in all other Parts of the City, where they could best behold the Pomp. The Spectators were clad in white Garments, all the Temples were open, and full of Garlands and Perfumes, the Ways clear'd and cleans'd by a great many Officers and Tipstaves, that drove such as throng'd the Passage, or straggled up and down. This Triumph lasted three days. On the first, which was scarce long enough for the Sight, was to be seen the Statues, Pictures, and Images, of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the Enemy, drawn upon 750 Chariots. On the second, was carried in a great many Wains, the fairest and richest Armour of the *Macedonians*, both of Brass and Steel, all newly furbish'd and glistering; which although pil'd up with the greatest Art and Order, yet seem'd to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance; Helmets were thrown upon Shields, Coats of Mail upon Greaves, *Cretian* Targets, and *Thracian* Bucklers, and Quivers of Arrows, lay huddled amongst the Horses Bits, and through these there appear'd the points of naked Swords, intermix'd with long Spears. All these Arms were ty'd together

gether with such a just liberty, that they knock'd against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise, so that the very Spoils of the Conquer'd could not be beheld without dread. After these Waggon's loaden with Armour, there follow'd 3000 Men, who carried the Silver that was coyn'd, in 750 Vessels, each of which weigh'd three Talents, and was carried by four Men. Others brought silver Bowls, and Goblets, and Cups, all dispos'd in such Order as to make the best Show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness as the thickness of their engraved Work. On the 3^d. day, early in the Morning, first came the Trumpetters, who did not sound as they were wont in a Procession or solemn Entry, but such a Charge as the *Romans* use when they encourage their Souldiers to Fight. Next follow'd young Men girt about with Girdles curiously wrought, which led to the Sacrifice sixscore stall'd Oxen, with their Horns gilded, and their Heads adorn'd with Ribbands and Garlands, and with these were Boys that carried Platters of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold Coin, which was divided into Vessels, that weigh'd three Talents, like to those that contain'd the silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were follow'd by those that brought the consecrated Bowl,

Bowl, which *Emilius* had caus'd to be made that weigh'd ten Talents, and was all beset with precious Stones. Then were expos'd to view the Cups of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*, and such as were made after the fashion invented by *Thericles*, and all the gold Plate that was used at *Perseus* his Table. Next to these came *Perseus* his Chariot, in the which his Armour was plac'd, and on that his Diadem. And after a little intermission, the King's Children were led Captives, and with them a Train of Nurses, Masters, and Governours, who all wept, and stretch'd forth their Hands to the Spectators, and taught the little Infants to beg and entreat their Compassion. There were two Sons and a Daughter, who by reason of their tender Age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their Misery, which Insensibility of their condition, render'd it much more deplorable; insomuch that *Perseus* himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst they had fix'd the Eyes of the *Romans* upon the Infants, and many of them could not forbear Tears, all beheld the Sight with a mixture of Sorrow and Joy, until the Children were past. After his Children and their Attendants came *Perseus* himself, clad all in black and wearing Slippers after the fashion of his Countrey; he look'd like one altogether astonish'd and depriv'd of Reason, through

the greatness of his Misfortunes. Next follow'd a great Company of his Friends and Familiars, whose Countenances were disfigur'd with Grief, and who testify'd to all that beheld them, by their Tears, and their continual looking upon *Perseus*, that it was his hard Fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. *Perseus* sent to *Emilius* to entreat, that he might not be led in Pomp, but be left out of the Triumph; who deriding (as was but just) his Cowardise, and fondness of Life, sent him this Answer; *That as for that, it was before, and is now, in his own power*; giving him to understand, that this disgrace was to be prevented by Death: which the faint-hearted Wretch being not able to sustain, and made effeminate by I know not what Hopes, became a part of his own spoils. After these were carried 400 Crowns, all made of Gold, and sent from the Cities by their respective Ambassadors to *Emilius*, as a Reward due to his Valour. Then he himself came seated on a Chariot magnificently adorn'd, (a Man worthy to be beheld, even without these Ensigns of Power) he was clad in a Garment of Purple, interwoven with Gold, and held out a Laurel Branch in his right hand. All the Army in like manner with Boughs of Laurel in their hands, divided into Bands and Companies, follow'd the Chariot of their

Commander, some singing Odes (according to the usual Custom) mingled with Raillery; others, Songs of Triumph, and the Praise of *Emilius* his Deeds; who was admir'd and accounted happy by all Men, and unenvy'd by every one that was good: only that it seems the Province of some God, to lessen that Happiness which is too great and inordinate, and so to mingle the Affairs of Humane Life, that no one should be entirely free and exempt from Calamities; but (as it is in *Homer*) that those should think themselves truly bless'd, to whom Fortune has given an equal share of Good and Evil.

Two of *Emilius* his Sons die about the time of his Triumph.

Emilius had four Sons, of which *Scipio* and *Fabius* (as is already related) were adopted into other Families; the other two, which he had by a second Wife, and were yet but young, he brought up in his own House. One of these died at 14 years of age, five days before his Father's Triumph; the other at 12, three days after: so that there was no Roman without a deep sence of his Suffering, and every one dreaded the Cruelty of Fortune, that did not scruple to bring so much Sorrow into a House replenish'd with Happiness, Rejoycing and Sacrifices, and to intermingle Tears and Complaints, with Songs of Victory and Triumph. But *Emilius* reasoning according to Judgment, consider'd that Courage and Resolution was not only requisite to resist

Armour

Armour and Spears, but also to withstand all the Shocks of ill Fortune, and so did he adapt and temper the necessity of his present Circumstances, as to overbalance the Evil with the Good, and his private Concerns with those of the publick, that thus they might neither takeaway from the Grandeur, nor fully the Dignity of his Victory. For as soon as he had bury'd the first of his Sons, (as we have already said) he triumph'd; and the second deceasing almost as soon as his Triumph was over, he gather'd together an Assembly of the People, and made an Oration to them, not like a Man that stood in need of Comfort from others, but of one that undertook to support his fellow Citizens, who griev'd for the Sufferings he himself underwent.

I (says he) that never yet fear'd any thing that was humane, amongst such as were divine, have always had a dread of Fortune as faithless and unconstant, and on the very account that in this War she had been as a favourable Gale in all my Affairs, I still expected some Change and Reflux of Things. For in one day (says he) I pass'd the Ionian Sea, and arriv'd from Brundisium at Corsica; thence in five more I sacrific'd at Delphos, and in other five days came to my Forces in Macedonia, where after I had finish'd the usual

Q 3

usual Sacrifices for the purifying of the Army, I fell to my design'd Business, and in the space of 15 days put an honourable period to the War. But when I still had a jealousy of Fortune, even from the smooth Current of my Affairs, and saw my self secure and free from the Danger of an Enemy, I chiefly dreaded the Change of the Goddess at Sea, whilst through my Success I brought home with me so great and glorious an Army, such vast Spoils, and Kings themselves Captives. Nay more, after I was return'd to you safe, and saw the City full of Joy, Congratulating and Sacrifices, yet still did I suspect Fortune, as well knowing, that she never conferr'd any Benefits that were sincere; and without some Allay. Nor could my mind (that was still as it were in Labour, and always foreseeing something to befall this City) free it self from this Fear, until so great a Misfortune besel me in my own Family, and that in the midst of those days set apart for Triumph, I carried two of the best of Sons one after another to their Funerals. Now therefore am I my self safe from Danger, at least as to what was my greatest Care, and I trust and am verily perswaded, that for the time to come Fortune will prove constant and harmeless unto you; for she has sufficiently wreck'd her Envy at our great Exploits on me and mine; nor is the Conquerour a less famous Example of humane Frailty,

Frailty, than the Man he led in Triumph, with this only difference, that Perseus though conquer'd does yet enjoy his Children, and the Conquerour Emilius is depriv'd of his. This was the generous and magnanimous Oration Emilius is said to speak to the People, from a Heart truly sincere, and free from all Artifice.

Although he very much pitied *Perseus* Perseus his Death. his condition, and studied to befriend him in what he was able, yet could he procure no other Favour, than his removal from the common Prison, into a more cleanly and humane Place of Security, where whilst he was guarded, (it is said) he starved himself to death. Others relate a very particular and unheard of manner of his dying: That the Souldiers that were his Guard, having conceiv'd a Spite and Hatred against him for some certain Reasons, and finding no other way to grieve and afflict him, kept him from Sleep, with all diligence disturb'd him when he was dispos'd to rest, and found out Contrivances to continue him still waking, by which means at length he was quite tired out, and gave up the Ghost. Two of his Children died soon after him; the third, who was named *Alexander*, (they say) prov'd an exquisite Artist in turning and graving in little, and withal learn'd so perfectly to

Q. 4 speak

Speak and write the *Roman* Language, that he became Clerk to the Senate, and behav'd himself in his Office with great Skill and Conduct.

They ascribe to *Emilius* his Conquest in *Macedonia*, this most acceptable Benefit to the People, viz. that he brought so vast a quantity of Money into the publick Treasury, that they never pay'd any Taxes, until *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was in the first year of the War between *Anthony* and *Cæsar*. There was this peculiar and remarkable in *Emilius*, That though he was extremely belov'd and honour'd by the People, yet he always sided with the Nobles, nor would he either say or do any thing to ingratiate himself with the Vulgar, but constantly adher'd to the Nobility, and Men of the chiefest Rank, in all matters of Government. Which thing in after-times was cast in *Scipio Africanus* his Teeth by *Appius*; for these two were in their Time the most considerable Men in the City, and stood in Competition for the Office of *Censor*. The one had on his side the Nobles and the Senate, (to which Party the Family of the *Appians* were always true;) the other, although his own Interest was great, yet did he make use of the Favour and Love of the People. When therefore *Appius* saw *Scipio* come to the Market-place

Emilius
always sided with
the Nobles.

surrounded with Men of mean Rank, and such as were but newly made free, yet were very fit to manage a Debate, gather together the Rabble, and carry whatsoever they design'd by Importunity and Noise, crying out with a loud voice: *Groan now*, (says he) O *Paulus Emilius*, if you have knowledge in your Grave of what is done above, that your Son pretends to be *Censor*, by the help of *Emilius* a common Cryer, and *Licinius*, a Barriter. As for *Scipio*, he always had the Good will of the People, because he was still heaping up Favours on them; but *Emilius*, although he still took part with the Nobles, yet was he as much their Darling, as he that was esteem'd most popular, and sought by little Arts to ingratiate himself with the Multitude. and this they made manifest, when amongst other Dignities, they thought him worthy of the Office of *Censor*, a Trust accounted most sacred; and of very great Authority, as well in other things as in the strict examination into mens Lives: for the *Censors* had power to expel a Senator, and enrol whom they judg'd most fit in his room, and to disgrace such young Men as liv'd licentiously, by taking away their Horses. Besides this, they were to value and assess each Man's Estate, and register the number of the People: there were number'd by *Emilius*, 337452 Men. He declar'd *Marcus Emilius*

Emilius Lepidus, Prince of the Senate, who had already four times arriv'd at that Honour, and remov'd from their Office ^{thence} of the Senators of the least Note. The same Moderation he and his fellow-Censor, *Marcus Philippus*, us'd at the Muster of the Horse-men.

Emilius
his Sickness
and Death.

Whilst he was thus busie about many and weighty Affairs, he fell sick of a Disease, which at first seem'd hazardous; and although after a while it prov'd without Danger, yet was it very troublesom and difficult to be cur'd: so that by the Advice of his Physicians he sayl'd to *Velia*, a Town in *Italy*, and there dwelt a long time near the Sea, where he enjoy'd all possible Quietness. The *Romans* in the mean while long'd for his Return, and often times by their Speeches in the Theaters, gave publick Testimonies of their great Desire and Impatience to see him. When therefore the time drew nigh, that a solemn Sacrifice was of necessity to be offer'd, and he found, as he thought, his Body strong enough, he came back again to *Rome*, and there perform'd the Holy Rites with the rest of the Priests, the People in the mean time crowding about him, and congratulating his Return. The next day he sacrific'd again to the Gods for his Recovery; and having finish'd the Sacrifice, return'd to his House

and set him down to Dinner, when all on a sudden, and when no Change was expected, he fell into a raving Fit, and being quite depriv'd of his Senses, the third day after ended his Life, in which he had wanted no manner of thing, which is thought to conduce to Happiness. Nay, his very Funeral Pomp had something in it remarkable, and to be admir'd, and his Vertue was grac'd with the most solemn and happy Rites at his Burial; for these did not consist of Gold and Ivory, or in the usual Sumptuousness and Splendor of such Preparations, but in the Good-will, Honour and Love, not only of his fellow-Citizens, but of his Enemies themselves. For as many *Spaniards*, *Ligurians*, and *Macedonians*, as happen'd to be present at the Solemnity, that were young, and of vigorous Bodies, took up the Bed and carry'd it, whilst the more aged follow'd, calling *Emilius* the Benefactor and Preserver of their Countries. Nor did he only at the time of his Conquest, demean himself to all with Kindness and Clemency, but through the whole course of his Life continu'd to do them good, and look after their Concerns, as if they had been his Familiars and Relations. They report, that the whole of his Estate scarce amounted to three hundred threescore and ten thousand Drachms, to which he left his

his two Sons Co-heirs; but *Scipio*, who was the youngest, being adopted into the more wealthy Family of *Africanus*, gave it all to his Brother. Such is said to have been the Life and Manners of *Emilius*.

TIMO.

TIMOLEON

Compared with
PAULUS EMILIUS.

IF we consider these two Heroes, as Historians have represented them to us, without doubt in the Comparison very little difference will be found between 'em. They made War with two powerful Enemies: The one against the *Macedonians*, and t'other against the *Carthaginians*, and the Success was glorious. One conquer'd *Macedon* from the seventh succeeding Heir of *Antigonus*; the other freed *Sicily* from usurping Tyrants, and restor'd that Isle to its former Liberty. Unless this be disputed for, that *Emilius* engag'd with *Perseus*, when his Forces were entire, and compos'd of such Men as had often with Success fought with the *Romans*: And that *Timoleon* found *Dionysius* in a despairing condition, his Affairs being reduc'd to the last Extremity. On the contrary, this may be

be said in favour of *Timoleon*: That he vanquish'd several Tyrants, and a powerful *Carthaginian* Army, with an inconsiderable number of Men gather'd together from all Parts: Not with such an Army as *Emilius* had, of well disciplin'd Souldiers, experienc'd in War, and accustom'd to obey; but such as through the hopes of Gain resorted to him, unskill'd in Fighting and ungovernable. And when Actions are equally glorious, and the means to compass them unequal, the greatest Esteem is certainly due to that General who conquers with the smaller Power.

Both have the Reputation of behaving themselves with an uncorrupted Integrity, in all the Affairs they manag'd: But *Emilius* had the advantage of being from his Infancy, by the Laws and Customs of his Countrey, brought up to the well management of publick Affairs, which *Timoleon* wanted, but by use brought himself to. And this is plain, for at that time all the *Romans* were educated with the greatest Modesty and Temperance, and paid an inviolable Observance to the Laws of their Country: Whereas 'tis remarkable, that not one of the *Grecian* Generals commanding in *Sicily*, cou'd keep himself uncorrupted, except *Dion*, and of him they entertain'd a Jealousie, that he wou'd establish a Monarchy there after the *Lacedæmonian* manner. *Timæus* writes, that the *Syracusians* sent *Gylippus*

home

home loaden with infamy, for his unsatiable Covetousness, and the many Bribes he took when he commanded the Army. Divers Historians mention, that *Pharax* the *Spartan*, and *Calippus* the *Athenian*, committed several wicked and treacherous Acts, designing to make themselves Kings of *Sicily*. — But what were these Men, and what strength had they to nourish so vain a Thought? For the first of them was a Follower of *Dionysius*, when he was expell'd *Syracuse*, and the other a hired Captain of Foot under *Dion*, and came into *Sicily* with him. — But *Timoleon* at the Request and Prayers of the *Syracusians*, was sent to be their General, not seeking for the Command, but when plac'd in his hands, managing it to the best advantage, and no sooner had he restor'd *Sicily* to her Liberty, but he willingly resign'd his Charge.

This is truly worthy our Admiration in *Emilius*, That though he conquer'd so great and so rich a Realm as that of *Macedon*, yet he wou'd not touch, nor see any of the Money, nor did he advantage himself one farthing by it, though he was very generous of his own to others. — This is not mention'd to reflect on *Timoleon*, for accepting of a fair House and handsom Estate in the Countrey, which the *Syracusians* presented him with; for on that occasion it was not dishonest

dishonest to receive 'em: But yet there is greater glory in a Refusal; and that is the supremest Vertue, which lets the praise of good Men be the Reward of its actions, and refuses all gifts, how well soever it may have deserv'd them. And as that Body is without doubt, the most strong and healthful, which can the easiest support extrem Cold, and excessive Heat, in the change of Seasons; and that the most firm and collected Mind, which is not puff'd up with Prosperity, nor dejected with Adversity: for the Vertue of *Emilius* was eminently seen, in that his Countenance and Carriage was the same upon the loss of two dear Sons, as when he achiev'd his greatest Victories and Triumphs. But *Timoleon*, after he had justly punish'd his Brother, a truly heroick Action, let his Reason yield to a causeless Sorrow, and, dejected with Grief and Remorse, he forbore for 20 years to appear in any publick Place, or meddle with any Affairs of the Common-wealth. 'Tis truly very commendable to shun and abhor the doing of any base Action; but to stand in fear of the Peoples Censure or common Talk, may argue a harmless and peaceable Mind, but never a brave and truly heroick Soul.



Timoleon.

THE
LIFE
OF
TIMOLEON.

Translated from the Greek.

By *Tho. Blomer*, D. D.

Volume II.

THE Affairs of the *Syracusians* before *Timoleon* was sent into *Sicily*, were in this posture: After *Dion*, had driven out *Dionysius* the Tyrant, he was slain by

by Treachery, and those that had assisted him in delivering *Syracuse* were divided among themselves, so that the City, by continual change of Governours, and a train of Mischiefs that succeeded each other, became almost desolate and forsaken. As for the rest of *Sicily*, part thereof was now utterly destroy'd and ruin'd, through a long continuance of the Wars, and most of the Cities that had been left standing, were seiz'd upon by a mix'd Company of *Barbarians*, and Souldiers under no Pay, that were ready to embrace every Turn of Government. Such being the state of Things, *Dionysius* takes the Opportunity, and in the tenth year of his Banishment, by the help of some foreign Troops he had got together, forces out *Nysæus*, then Master of *Syracuse*, recovers all afresh, and was again settled in his Dominion. And as he had been at first strangely depriv'd, of the greatest and most absolute Power that ever was, by a very small Party, so now after a more wonderful manner, being an Exile, and of mean condition, he became the Sovereign Lord of those that did eject him. All therefore that remain'd in *Syracuse*, were made to serve under a Tyrant, who at the best was of an ungentle Nature, and that exasperated them to a greater degree of Savageness, by the Misfortunes and Calamities he had suffer'd.

But

Vol. II. of TIMOLEON.

But those of the better sort, and such as were of Note and Eminence, having timely retir'd thence to *Iceles*, that bore sway over the *Leontines*, put themselves under his Protection, and chose him for their General in the War; a Person hardly preferable to any of those that were open and avowed Tyrants: but they had no other Sanctuary at present, and it gave them some ground of confidence, that he was both of a *Syracusan* Family, and had an Army besides able to encounter that of *Dionysius*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* appear'd before *Sicily* with a great Navy, watching when and where they might make a Descent upon the Island; the terror of which Fleet, made the *Sicilians* incline to send an Embassy into *Greece*, that should demand Succours from the *Corinthians*, whom they did address to and confide in rather than any others, not only upon the account of their near Kindred, and by reason of the great Benefits they had often receiv'd by trusting them heretofore, but because *Corinth* had ever shewn her self an entire Lover of Freedom, and the most averse from Tyranny, by the many noble Wars she had engag'd in, not upon the score of Empire and Avarice, but for the sole Liberty of the *Greeks*. But *Iceles*, who made it the business of his Command, not so much to deliver the *Syracusians*

from other Tyrants, as to enslave them himself, had already held some secret Conferences with those of *Carthage*, while in publick he commended the Design of his *Syracusan* Clients, and dispatch'd Embassadors from himself, together with those which they sent into *Peloponnesus*; not that he really desired there should come any Relief from them; but, in case the *Corinthians* (as it was likely enough) should, by reason of the Troubles of *Greece*, and those Diversions that were given them at home, refuse their Assistance, hoping then he should be able with less difficulty to dispose and incline things for the *Carthaginian* Interest, and so make use of these foreign Pretenders, as Instruments and Auxiliaries for himself, either against the *Syracusians*, or their common Enemy *Dionysius*, as occasion serv'd; which Project and Subtilty of his was discover'd a while after. But the foresaid Embassadors being now arriv'd, and their Request known, the *Corinthians*, who were wont to have a particular Concern for all their Colonies and Plantations, but especially for that of *Syracuse*, since by good fortune too there was nothing to molest them in their own Country, but they enjoy'd Peace and leisure at that time, did readily and with one accord pass a Vote for their Assistance. And

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when they were deliberating about the choice of a Captain for that Expedition, and the Magistrates of their City did nominate and propose several Persons, that had made it their Care and Study to be esteem'd among them, one of the *Plebeians* standing up, happen'd to name *Timoleon*, the Son of *Timodemus*, who had long ago left off to concern himself in publick Business, and had neither any hopes of, nor the least pretension to an Employment of that nature; insomuch that the thing was thought to proceed from a divine Instinct, and that some God or other had put it in the man's heart to mention him; so great an indulgence of Fortune did then immediately appear at his Election, and so much of her Favour did accompany his following Actions, as it were on purpose to recommend his worth, and add some grace and ornament to his personal Virtues. If you regard his Parentage, both *Timodemus* his Father, and his Mother *Demariste*, were of a Noble and Illustrious Rank in that City; as for himself, he was a mighty Lover of his Country, and one of admirable Meekness towards all, excepting that extream hatred he bore to Tyrants and wicked men. His Natural Abilities for the War were so happily temper'd, and of that excellent and even mixture, that, as a

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rare and extraordinary Prudence might be seen in all the Enterprises of his younger years, so a strange firmness of Mind, and the most undaunted Courage did attend him still, even to the last Exploits of his declining Age. He had an Elder Brother, whose Name was *Timophanes*, one of a different Make, and every way unlike him, being indiscreet, and rash, and corrupted with a Love of Monarchy, by the suggestion of some lewd Friends and foreign Souldiers, which he kept always about him. He seem'd to have a certain Force and Vehemence in all Attempts, and even to delight in Dangers, whereby he took much with the People, and upon that account did not only aspire, but was advanc'd to the highest Charges, as a vigorous and effective Warriour; for the obtaining of which Offices and Promotions, *Timoleon* did very much assist him, who either help'd wholly to conceal his Errors and Defaults, or at least to lessen and diminish those he was thought guilty of, and beside this, took care to magnifie and adorn whatever was commendable in him, and set off his good Qualities to the best advantage. It happen'd once in a Battle of the *Corinthians*, against those of *Argos* and *Cleone*, that *Timoleon* serv'd among the Infantry, when *Timophanes*, commanding their Cavalry, was brought into extraordinary danger, for his Horse being wounded fell forward, and threw him head-

head-

headlong amidst the Enemies, whereupon part of his Companions were presently dispers'd through a sudden fear, and the small number that remain'd, bearing up against a great Multitude, had much ado to maintain the Fight, and make any long Resistance. As soon therefore as *Timoleon* was aware of that Accident, he run hastily in to his Brother's rescue, and covering the fallen *Timophanes* with his Buckler, after having receiv'd abundance of Darts, and several Strokes by the Sword into his Body and his Armour, he at length with much difficulty oblig'd the Enemies to retire, and brought off his Brother alive and safe out of that desperate extremity. But when the *Corinthians*, for fear of losing their City a second time, by taking in Associates, (a thing they had formerly suffer'd from them) made a Decree to entertain 400 Strangers for the security thereof, and gave *Timophanes* the Command over them, he, without any regard to Honour and Equity, put all those things in speedy Execution, whereby he might become absolute, and bring the Place under his own Power; and having cut off many principal Citizens, uncondemn'd and without Tryal, that were most likely to hinder his Design, declar'd himself to be King of *Corinth*; a Procedure that did infinitely afflict the good *Timoleon*, as reckoning the Wickedness of such a

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Brother,

Brother, to be his own Reproach and Calamity. He therefore undertook to persuade him by his Discourse, that desisting from that and unhappy Ambition, he would better himself how he should make the *Corinthians* some Amends, and find out an Expedient to remedy and correct the Evils he had done them. But when his single Admonition was rejected and contem'd by him, he makes a second and more powerful Attempt, taking with him one *Æschylus* his Kinsman, Brother to the Wife of *Timophanes*, and a certain Prophet or Diviner, that was his Friend, whom *Theopompus* in his History calls *Satyrus*, but *Ephorus* and *Timæus* mention in theirs by the Name of *Orthagoras*. After a few days then he returns to his Brother with this Company, all three of them surrounding and earnestly importuning him upon the same Subject, that now at length he would listen to sober Counsel, and use Reason, and be of another mind. But when *Timophanes* began first to laugh at the Mens simplicity, and being vehemently press'd, fell afterwards into Rage and Indignation against them, *Timoleon* stepp'd aside from him, and stood weeping, with his Face cover'd, while the other two, drawing out their Swords, dispatch'd him in a moment. The rumour of this Fact being soon scatter'd about, the better and more generous sort of the *Corinthians* did

high.

highly applaud *Timoleon* for his detestation of Improbability, and extol the greatness of his Soul, that being of a sweet and gentle Disposition, and having so much Love and Kindness for his Family, he should however think the Obligations to his Country much stronger than the Tyes of Consanguinity, and prefer that which is handsome and just, before Gain and Interest; and his own particular Advantage; for the same Brother, which with so much Bravery had been sav'd by him, when he fought valiantly in the Cause of *Corinth*, he had now as nobly sacrific'd, for enslaving her afterwards by his base and treacherous Usurpation. But then on the other side, those that knew not how to live in a Democracy, and had been us'd to make their humble Court unto the Men of Power, though they did openly pretend to rejoyce at the death of such a Tyrant, yet secretly reviling *Timoleon*, as one that had committed the most impious and abominable Act, they cast him into a strange Melancholy and Dejection. And when he came to understand how heavily his Mother took it, and that she likewise did utter the saddest Complaints and terrible Imprecations against him, he went to satisfy and comfort her as to what had happen'd; who would not endure so much as to look upon him, but caus'd the Doors

Doors of her House to be shut, that might have no admission into her presence; the grief whereof did so disorder his Mind, and make him grow so hugely disordered, that he determin'd to put an end to that perplexity with his Life, and starve himself by abstaining from all manner of Sustenance; but through the Care and Diligence of his Friends, who were very instant with him, and added force to his Entreaties, he came to resolve and promise at last, that he would endure Living, provided it might be in Solitude, and remote from Company: so that quitting all his Transactions, and his former Commerce with the World, for a long while after his first retirement, he never came into *Corinth*, but wandered up and down the Fields, full of anxious and tormenting Thoughts, and spent his time in those desert Places, that were at the farthest distance from society and humane Interourse. Which Behaviour of his may give us occasion to observe, that the Minds of Men are easily shaken and carry'd off from their own Sentiments, through the casual Commendation or Reproof of others, unless the Judgments that we make, and the Purposes we conceive, be confirm'd too by Reason and Philosophy, which give strength and steadiness to our Undertakings; for an Action must not only be just and laudible in its own

nature,

nature, but it must proceed likewise from solid Motives, and a lasting Principle, that we may fully and constantly approve the thing, and be perfectly satisfi'd in what we do: for otherwise having once finish'd a Design, and brought our Resolution to Practice, we shall out of pure weakness come to be troubled at the Performance, when the grace and goodliness thereof begins to decay and wear out of our Fancy, which render'd it before so amiable and pleasing to us. As it happens to those liquorish sort of People, that seizing on the more delicious Morfels of any Dish with a keen Appetite, are presently disgusted when they grow full, and find themselves oppress'd and uneasie now, by what they did before so greedily desire: for a succeeding Dislike is enough to spoil the very best of Actions, and Repentance makes that which was never so well done, to become base and faulty; whereas the Choice and Procedure that is founded upon knowledge and wise Reasoning, does not change by Disappointment, or suffer us to repent, though it happen perchance to be less prosperous in the issue. And therefore *Phocion* of *Athens*, having still vigorously oppos'd the Attempts of *Leosthenes*, which however did succeed contrary to his Opinion, and all the appearance of things, when he saw the *Athenians* fall to sacrifice, and look very

A moral
reflection.

very big and haughty upon a Victory that
gotten by him, *I should have been glad*
he to them, *that I my self had been the*
author of what Leosthenes has atchiev'd for
but cannot wish that I had offer'd you
other Advice than what I always gave, and
then appear to be most reasonable. But *Al-*
des the Locrian, one of Plato's Companions
made a more sharp and severe Reply to
Dionysius the elder, who demanding one
of his Daughters in Marriage, I had re-
says he to him, see the Virgin in her
than in the Palace of a Tyrant. And *when*
the same Dionysius, enrag'd at the Affair,
made his Sons be put to death a while
and did then again insultingly ask, What
he were still in the same mind as to the
sal of his Daughters? His Answer was
cannot but grieve at the cruelty of your
but am not a whit sorry for the freedom of
own words. Now such Expressions as these
may peradventure pass for the Effects of
more sublime and accomplish'd Vertue.

But as for that passionate Disorder of
Timoleon upon the late Fact, whether it
from a deep commiseration of his Brother's
Fate, or the Reverence he bore his Mother,
it did so shatter and dissolve his Spirits, that
for the space of almost 20 years, he had
offer'd to concern himself in any honour-
able or publick Action. When therefore

was pitch'd upon for a General, and joyfully
accepted as such by the Suffrages of the
People, *Teliclides*, one of the greatest Pow-
er and Reputation in *Corinth*, began to ex-
hort him, that he would act now like a
Man of Worth and Gallantry: *For, says he,*
if you appear magnanimous, and do bravely in
this Service, we shall then believe that you de-
liver'd us from a Tyrant; but if you behave
your self basely, and come off ill, it will
be thought by all that you kill'd your Bro-
ther. While he was yet preparing to set
Sail, and listing Souldiers to imbarck with
him, there came Letters to the *Corinthians*
from *Icetes*, that plainly discover'd his Re-
volt and Treachery; for his Embassadors
were no sooner gone for *Corinth*, but he o-
penly joyn'd himself to the *Carthaginians*,
and further'd them in their Designs, that
they likewise might assist him to throw out
Dionysius, and become Master of *Syracuse*
in his room. And fearing he might be dis-
appointed of his Aim, if any considerable
Force and a skilful Leader should come from
Corinth before this were effected, he sent a
Letter of Advice thither in all haste to pre-
vent their setting out, telling them, they
needed not be at any cost and trouble upon
his account, or run the hazard of a *Sicilian*
Voyage, especially since the *Carthaginians*
would dispute their Passage, and lay in wait

to attack them with a numerous Fleet, which he had now engag'd himself, (being forc'd thereto by the slowness of their motions) to lend him all necessary Assistance against *Onysus*. This Letter being publickly read, if any had been cold and indifferent before as to the Expedition in hand, yet that indignation they conceiv'd against the *Prophet* of *Iceles*, did now exasperate and inflame them all, insomuch that they willingly contributed to supply *Timoleon*, and joyntly deavoured to hasten his departure.

When the Vessels were equipp'd, and Souldiers every way provided for, the male Priests of *Proserpina* had a Dream Vision, wherein she and her Mother *Ceres* appear'd to them in a travelling Garb, and were heard to say, that they would sail with *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; whereupon the *Syracusan* having built a sacred Galley, it was devoted to them, and call'd the Galley of the Goddesses. *Timoleon* went in Person to *Delphi*, where he sacrific'd to *Apollo*, and descending into the Place of Prophecy, was surpriz'd with this marvellous Oracle: A Wreath or Garland interwoven with Crowns and Trophies, shipp'd off among the Gifts that were there consecrated and hung up in the Temple, which fell directly down upon his Head; so that the *Apollo* seem'd already to crown him with Success.

cess, and send him thence to conquer and triumph in that Enterprize. He put to Sea only with seven Ships of *Corinth*, two of *Eretria*, and a tenth which was furnish'd out by the *Leucadians*; being now enter'd into the deep by night, and carri'd with a prosperous gale, the Heaven seem'd all on a sudden to be rent in sunder, and a bright spreading Flame to issue from the division, and hover over the Ship wherein he was, which having form'd it self into a Torch, not unlike those that are us'd in their religious Mysteries, began to steer the same course, and run along in their company, guiding them by its light to that Quarter of *Sicily* where they design'd to go ashore. The soothsayers affirm'd, that this Apparition did agree with that Dream of the holy Women, and make good what they had happily foretold, since the Goddesses did now joyntly joyn in the Expedition, and set up that heavenly Lamp to march before them as a Convoy; *Sicily*, being thought sacred to *Proserpina*, for Poets feign, that the Rape was committed there, and that the Island was given her in Dowry when she married *Pluto*. Now these early demonstrations of divine Favour did mightily encourage his whole Army; so that making all the Sail they were able, and nimbly crossing the Sea, they were soon brought upon the Coast of

of *Italy*: but the tidings that came from *Sicily* did very much perplex *Timoleon*, dishearten his Souldiers, for *Icetes* had already beaten *Dionysius* out of the Field, reduc'd the greater part of *Syracuse* into his power, did now straiten and besiege him in the Citadel, and that Remnant which is call'd *Ortygia* Isle, whither he was lately fled for his Refuge; while the *Carthaginians* by Agreement, were to make it their business to hinder *Timoleon* from landing in any Port of *Sicily*; so that he and his Party being driven back, they might with more ease and at their own leisure divide the Island among themselves. In pursuance of which Design the *Carthaginians* send away 20 of their Gallies to *Rhegium*, having aboard them certain Embassadors from *Icetes* to *Timoleon*, that carri'd Instructions suitable to the Proceedings, which were nothing else but specious Amusements and plausible Stories to colour and conceal his knavish Purpose; for the Men had Order to propose and demand, that *Timoleon* himself (if he liked the Offer) should come to advise with them, and partake of all his Conquests, but that he might send back his Ships and Forces to *Corinth*, since the War was in a manner finish'd, and the *Carthaginians* had block'd up all the Road, as resolving to oppose them if they should press towards the Shore. When there

there

therefore the *Corinthians* met with these Embassadors at *Rhegium*, and receiv'd their Message, and saw the *Punick* Vessels riding at Anchor in the Bay, they became deeply sensible of the Abuse that was put upon them, and had a general Indignation against *Icetes*; and mighty Apprehensions for the poor *Sicilians*, whom they now plainly receiv'd to be as it were a Prize and Remuneration betwixt the Fallhood of *Icetes* on one side, and the Ambition of *Carthage* on the other; for it seem'd utterly impossible to force and overbear the *Carthaginian* Ships that lay before them, and were doubtless their number, as also to vanquish the victorious Troops which *Icetes* had sent him in *Syracuse*, for the Conduct and Relief whereof they had undertaken that Voyage. The Case being thus, *Timoleon*, after some Conference with the Legates of *Icetes*, and the *Carthaginian* Captains, told them, he should readily submit to their Proposals, (for it would be to no purpose to refuse Compliance) he was desirous only before his Return to *Corinth*, that what had pass'd between them in private, might be solemnly declar'd before the People of *Rhegium*, which was a *Grecian* City, and a common Friend to the Parties; for this would very much conduce to his own Security and Discharge; and they likewise

wife would more strictly observe such Articles of Agreement, on behalf of the *Syracuzans*, which they had oblig'd themselves to in the presence of so many Witnesses. The Design of all which was, only to give them Diversion, while he got an opportunity of slipping through their Fleet: a Contrivance that all the principal *Rhegians* were privy and assisting to, who had a great desire that the Affairs of *Sicily* should fall into *Carthaginian* hands, but dreaded nothing so much as the consequence of a *Punick* Neighbourhood. An Assembly was therefore call'd, and the Gates shut, that the Burghers might have no liberty to scatter and apply themselves to other Business: being met together, they made tedious Harangues, and spoke one by one upon the same Argument, without driving the Matter to any certain Head, but purposely spinning out the time by that and other artificial ways, till the *Corinthian* Gallies should get clear of the Haven, the *Carthaginian* Commanders being detain'd there without any suspicion, because *Timoleon* was still present, and gave Signs as if he were just now preparing to make an Oration. But upon secret notice that the rest of the Gallies were already gone off, and that his only remnant waiting for him, by the Help and Concealment

of those *Rhegians* that were about the Chair, where they made Speeches, and favour'd his Departure, he made a shift to slide away through the Crowd, and running down to the Port, hoisted up Sayl with all speed, and having reach'd his other Vessels, they came all safe to *Tauromenum* in *Sicily*, whither they had been formerly invited, and where they were now kindly receiv'd by *Andromachus*, the Guardian and Ruler of that City. This Man was father of *Timæus* the Historian, and incomparably the best of all those that bore Sway in *Sicily* at that time, for he govern'd his Citizens according to Law and Justice, and had ever openly profess'd an Aversion and Enmity to all Tyrants; upon which account he gave *Timoleon* leave to muster up his Troops there, and to make that City the Seat of War, perswading the Inhabitants to joyn their Arms with the *Corinthian* Forces, and assist them in the Design of delivering *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* who were left in *Rhegium* perceiving, when the Assembly was dissolv'd, that *Timoleon* had given them the Go-by, were not a little vex'd to see themselves out-witted, which did occasion much Humour and Pleasantness to the *Rhegians*, who could not choose but smile and rally them, when they heard those exquisite Masters in all Cunning and Subtilty, to complain,

forth, of such slippery Tricks, and testify their dislike of Fraud, and Fetches, and deceitful Doings. However they dispatch'd a Messenger aboard one of their Gallies to *Tauromenium*, who after much Blustering, in the *Barbarick* way, and mighty Menaces to *Andromachus*, if he did not forthwith send the *Corinthians* packing, stretch'd out his Hand with the inside upward, and then turning it down again, threatned he would handle their City just in that fashion, and turn it topsy-turvy in as little time, and with as much ease. *Andromachus* then laughing at the Man's boisterous Confidence, made no other Reply, but in contempt thereof fell to imitate his Legerdemain, and bid him presently be gone, unless he had a mind to see that kind of Dexterity practis'd first upon the Gally which brought him thither. *Icetes* being certifi'd, that *Timoleon* had made good his Passage, he was in great fear of what might follow thereupon, and sent to desire the *Carthaginians*, that more Gallies might be order'd to attend and secure the Coast. And now it was that the *Syracusians* began wholly to despair of Safety, seeing the *Carthaginians* possess'd of their Haven, and *Icetes* Master of the City, and *Dionysus* commanding in the Fortrels; whereas *Timoleon* had as yet but a very slender hold of *Sicily*, which he only seiz'd upon as it were by the Fringe or Border in that small City

City of the *Tauromenians*, with a feeble Hope and a poor Company; for he had but a 1000 Souldiers at the most, and no more Provisions either of Corn or Money, than were just necessary for the Maintenance and the Pay of that inconsiderable number. Nor did the other Towns of *Sicily* confide in him, being lately over-run with Violence and Outrage, and then exasperated against all that should offer to lead Armies, for the sake chiefly of *Calippus* an *Athenian*, and *Pharax* a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, and the Mischiefs they had suffer'd by their Treachery; for both of them having given out that the design of their coming was to introduce Liberty, and depose Tyrants; they did so tyrannize themselves, that the Reign of former Oppressors seem'd to be a Golden Age, if compar'd with the Lordliness and Exaction of these pretended Deliverers, who made the *Sicilians* reckon them to be far more happy that did expire in Servitude, than any that had liv'd to see such a dismal Freedom; so that looking for no better Usage from this *Corinthian* General, but imagining that the same Devices and Wheedles were now again set a foot, to allure and sweeten them by fair Hopes and kind Promises into the Obedience of a new Master, they did all generally (unless it were the People of *Adranum*)

suspect the Exhortations, and reject the virtues that were made them in his Name. Now these were Inhabitants of a small City, but that consecrated to *Adranus*, (a certain God that was in high Veneration throughout *Sicily*) and they happen'd then to be at variance among themselves, in so much that one Party call'd in *Icetes* and the *Carthaginians* to assist them, while the other sent addresses to *Timoleon*, that he would come and espouse their Quarrel. Now it so fell out, that these Auxiliaries, striving which should be there soonest, did both arrive at *Adranum* about the same time; *Icetes* brought with him at least 5000 Fighting Men, but all the Force *Timoleon* could make, did not exceed 1200: with that he march'd out of *Tauromenium*, which was above 42 miles distant from that City. The first day he mov'd but slowly, and took up his Quarters betimes after a short Journey; but the day following he much quickned his pace, and having pass'd through many difficult Places, towards Evening he receiv'd Advice, that *Icetes* was newly come to *Adranum*, and lay encamp'd before it: upon which Intelligence, his Captains and other Officers caused the Vanguard to make a halt, that the Army being refresh'd, and having repos'd a while, they might engage the Enemy with greater Briskness.

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But *Timoleon* coming up in haste, desir'd them not to stop for that Reason, but rather use all possible Diligence to surprize the *Icetanians*, whom probably they would now find in Disorder, as having lately ended their March, and being taken up at present in erecting Tents, and preparing Supper; which he had no sooner said, but laying hold on his Buckler, and putting himself in the Front, he led them on as it were to a certain Victory; the braveness of such a Leader made them all follow him with a like Courage and Assurance. They were now within less than 30 Furlongs of *Adranum*, which having soon got over, they immediately fell in upon the Enemy, that was seiz'd with Confusion, and begun to retire at their first Approaches; whence also it came to pass, that amidst so little Opposition, and so early and general a Flight, there were not many more than 300 slain, and about twice the number made Prisoners, but their Camp and Baggage was all taken. The Fortune of this Onset soon oblig'd the *Adranitans* to unlock their Gates, and embrace the Interest of *Timoleon*, who recounted to him in a strange Affrightment, and with great Admiration, how at the very minute of that Encounter, the Doors of their Temple flew open of their own accord, that the Javelin

also which their God held in his hand, was observ'd to tremble at the Point, and that drops of Sweat had been seen running down his Face; which prodigious Accidents did not only presage the Victory that was then gotten, but were an Omen it seems of all his future Exploits, to which the leading Felicity of this Action gave him so fair an Entrance. For now the neighbouring Cities and Potentates sent Deputies one upon another, to seek his Friendship, and make the Offer of their Service; among the rest, *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*, both a stout Warrior and a wealthy Prince, struck up an Alliance with him; and, what was of greater Importance still, *Dionysius* himself being now grown desperate, and well nigh forc'd to surrender, began to despise *Icetes*, as one shamefully baffled; but much admiring the Valour of *Timoleon*, found means to advertise him and his *Corinthians*, that he should be content to deliver up himself and the Arsenal into their hands. *Timoleon*, gladly embracing this unlook'd for Advantage, sends away *Euclides* and *Telemachus*, two *Corinthian* Captains, with 400 Men, for the Seizure and Custody of the Castle, who had Directions to enter not all at once, or in open view, (for that was not to be done while the

the Enemy kept a Guard upon the Haven) but only by stealth, and in small Companies. And so they took possession of that Fortrefs, and the Palace of *Dionysius*, with all the Stores and Ammunition he had prepar'd and laid up, as useful to maintain the War; for there was found within a good number of Horses, and all manner of Engines, and a multitude of Darts, and Weapons to Arm out 70000 Men, that had been the Magazine of old, beside 2000 Souldiers that were then with him, which he gave up likewise among the rest for *Timoleon's* Service. But *Dionysius* himself putting his Treasure aboard, and a few Friends, sail'd away without the knowledge of *Icetes*, and being brought to the Camp of *Timoleon*, he there appear'd first in the lowly Guise and ignoble Equipage of a private Person, and was shortly after sent to *Corinth* with a single Ship, and a small sum of Money. He who had been born and educated in the most splendid Court, and the most absolute Monarchy that ever was, which he held and kept up for the space of ten years after his Father's Death, and since the Attempts of *Dion*, who constrain'd him to quit the Empire, had spent twelve years more in a continual Agitation of Wars and Scufflings, and great variety of Fortune, during which time,

time, all the Mischiefs and Vexations of his former Reign, were abundantly repaid and outdone by those Evils and Calamities which he then suffer'd; for he liv'd to see both the Funeral of his Sons, being now about the Prime and Vigour of that Age, and the Rape of his Daughters, in the flower of their Virginity: he had another mortifying sight too, from the death and prostitution of his own Sister that became his Wife, who being first villainously treated, and her Person expos'd to all the Lust and Lewdness of the common soldiery, was then murder'd with her Children, and their Bodies cast into the Sea, the Particulars whereof I have more exactly related in the Life of *Dion*.

Upon the same of his landing at *Corinth*, there was hardly a Man in *Greece*, who had not the Curiosity to come and view the late formidable Tyrant, and discourse with him: some, rejoycing at his Distressers, were led thither out of mere Spite and Hatred, that they might have the pleasure of seeing him in such a despicable state, and of trampling on the Ruins of his broken Fortune; but others who made a serious and good-natur'd use of that Accident, did so consider the Change, as to reflect upon it with Pity and Compassion for him, contemplating withal that marvellous

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and mighty Power, which invisible and divine Causes do exercise here below, in the great and notorious Examples of humane Weakness. For neither Art or Nature did in that Age produce any thing, comparable to this Work and Wonder of Providence, which shew'd the very same Man, that was not long before supream Monarch of *Sicily*; holding Conversation now, perhaps with a greazy Cook, or sitting whole days in a Perfumer's Shop, or drinking the diluted Wine of Taverns, or squabbling in the Street with common Strumpets, or pretending to instruct the Musical in their Odes, and seriously disputing with them, about the measure and harmony of certain Airs that were sung in the Theatre. Which Behaviour of his met with different Censures; for being lustful and vicious in himself, and of an immodest Temper, he was thought by many to do this, out of pure compliance with his own natural Inclinations: but the finer sort of Judges were of Opinion, that all this while he was acting a sly politick Part, with design hereby to be more contemn'd among them; that the *Corinthians* might not suspect or dread him, as if he did ill brook such a Vicissitude of Fortune, and were secretly contriving ways to undermine the State, or advance himself to his former Dignity. For pre-

prevention of which Surmises; and those Dangers they might create him, he did positively seem delighted with many sordid things that were against his Genius, and affect an appearance of much ridiculous Folly, in the choice and manner of all his publick Divertisements. However it be, there are certain Sayings and Repartees of his left still upon Record, which sufficiently declare, that he was not dejected under so great a Fall, and whereby it seems he did handsomely accommodate himself to his present Circumstances; as may appear in part from the Ingenuity of that Confession, when being come to *Leucadia*, which was a *Corinthian* Colony as well as *Syracuse*, he told the Inhabitants thereof, that he found something in himself not unlike the Passion and Humour of those Children, which had been guilty of some Misdemeanour; for as they did chearfully converse among their Brethren, but were ashamed to come into their Father's presence; so likewise should he gladly reside with them in that Island, having a certain awe upon his Mind, which made him fearfully decline the sight of *Corinth*, that was a common Mother to them both. But the thing is further evident, from that Reply he once made to a Stranger in *Corinth*, who deriding him in a very rude and scornful manner,

manner, about the Conferences he us'd to have with Philosophers, whose company had been so delightful to him, while yet a Monarch, and demanding, in fine, what his Highness was the better now for all those wise and learned Discourses of *Plato*? *Do you think*, says he, *I have made no advantage of his Philosophy, when you see me bear the late Alteration in my Fortune, and this Insolence of yours, with such an even Temper?* And when *Aristoxenus* the Musician, and several others, desir'd to know wherein *Plato* had offended him, and what was the ground of his Displeasure to that worthy Man, he made Answer, *That the condition of Sovereign Princes, being attended with many other Misfortunes, had this great Infelicity above all the rest, that none of those who were accounted their Friends, and had the liberty of Favourites, would venture to speak freely, or tell them the plain honest truth, and that by means of such he had been depriv'd of Plato's Kindness, the only Person from whom he was like to hear it.* At another time, one of those pleasant Companions, that are desirous to pass for Wits or Humourists, in Abuse and Mockery to *Dionysus*, as if he were still the same guarded and suspicious Tyrant, fell himself to examine and shake his own Cloak, as he was entring into the Room, where he was, to show there were no hidden Daggers

Daggers or concealed Weapons about him. But Dionysius wounded the Man with the sharpness of his own Jest, in retorting smartly, Do you hear, Friend, it would be more satisfactory from one of your thievish Looks, and I should like it much better, if you would open and shake your Garment, when you depart hence, that I might be sure you had taken nothing out of my Chamber. And when Philippus Macedo, as they two were together, began to talk, after a droll way, about the Verses and Tragedies which his Father, Dionysius the elder, had left behind him, and pretended to wonder how he could get any time from his other business, to compose such elaborate and ingenious Pieces, he reply'd very much to the purpose, It was at those leisurable hours, when such as you and I, and all that seem or count themselves the happy men, were employ'd in Merriment and Revelling, and in foolish Follies of Intemperance. Now Philippus had not the opportunity to see Dionysius at Corinth, being already dead before he came thither; but Diogenes Sinopensis at their meeting in the Street there, saluted him with this ambiguous expression, O Dionysius, how little dost thou deserve to live thus. Upon which Dionysius stopp'd and reply'd, I am much oblig'd to thee, Diogenes, that thou dost so kindly commiserate my case, and

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seem to be concern'd for the Disasters that have befallen me: Dost thou imagine then, says Diogenes, that I condole with thee for what has happen'd? and am not rather heartily vex'd, that such a Slave as thou, who, if thou hadst thy due, shouldst have been let alone to grow old, and die in the wretched State of Tyranny, as thy Father did before thee, does now enjoy the quietness and ease of private Persons, and is here at his own disposal, to live and frolick it in our Society. So that when I compare with the words of this Philosopher, those sad Stories of Philistus, touching the Daughters of Leptines, where he makes pitiful moan on their behalf, as fallen from all the Blessings and Advantages of powerful Greatness, to the Miseries of an humble Life, they seem to me like the Lamentations of a poor Lady, who had lost her Box of Ointment, and her purple Cloving, and her golden Trinkets. Now that which I have inserted here, is agreeable enough to my Design of writing Lives, and representing the true Characters of Men, neither will it, I presume, be thought useless and impertinent, by such Readers as are not in too much haste, or busi'd and taken up with other Concerns.

But if the unhappiness of Dionysius appear strange and extraordinary, we shall have no less Reason to admire at the good Fortune

tune of *Timoleon*, who within 50 days after his landing in *Sicily*, both recover'd the Citadel of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysus* an Exile into *Peloponnesus*. Which lucky beginning did so animate the *Corinthians*, that they order'd him a supply of 2 000 Foot, and 200 Horse, who being come as far as *Thurium*, intended to cross over thence into *Sicily*, but finding all beset with *Carthaginian* Ships, which made the Road unpassable, they were constrain'd to stop there, and watch the opportunity: which time however was employ'd in a noble Action; for the *Thurians* going out to war against those of *Bruttium*, left their City in charge with these *Corinthian* Strangers, who defended it as carefully as if it had been their own Country, and then resign'd it up again with the Justice and Faithfulness of honest Guardians.

Iceles in the interim continu'd still to besiege the Castle of *Syracuse*, and hinder'd all Provisions from coming in by Sea, to relieve the *Corinthians* that were in it. He had engag'd also, and dispatch'd towards *Adranum*, two unknown Foreigners to assassinate *Timoleon*, who at other times did not use to have any standing Guard about his Person, and was then altogether secure, diverting himself without Jealousie or Caution, among the Citizens of that Place, through the Confidence he had, not only

in them, but in the Favour and Protection of their God *Adranus*. The Villains that were sent upon this Enterprize, having casually heard that *Timoleon* was about to sacrifice, came directly into the Temple with Poniards under their Cloaks, and pressing in among the Crowd, by little and little got up close to the Altar; but as they were just looking for a Sign from each other to begin the Attempt, a third Person struck one of them over the Head with a Sword, who suddenly falling down, neither he that gave the Blow, nor the Partisan of him that receiv'd it, kept their Stations any longer; but the one making way with his bloody Sword, put no stop to his Flight, till he gain'd the top of a certain lofty Precipice, while the other laying hold of the Altar, besought *Timoleon* to spare his Life, and he would reveal to him the whole Conspiracy; his Pardon being granted, he confess'd, that both himself and his dead Companion, were sent thither purposely to slay him. While this Discovery was made, he that kill'd the other Conspirator, had been fetch'd down from his Sanctuary of the Rock, who loudly and often protested as he came along, that there was no Injustice in the Fact, for he only took righteous Vengeance for his Father's Blood, of a Man that had murder'd him before in the City of

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Leontium; the truth whereof was attested by several there present, who could not choose but wonder too at the curious Intrigues, and the rare management of Providence, which does so dextrously proceed, and work in that admirable Order, as to make this little Event the Spring and Motion to that great Emergency, uniting every scatter'd Accident, and loose Particular, and remote Action, and interweaving them together to serve its purposes: from whence we see it frequently arrive, that things otherwise extreamly different, and that seem to have no connexion or dependance among themselves, do interchangeably and by turns become the end and the beginning of each other. The *Corinthians* therefore being satisfi'd as to the Innocence and Equity of this seasonable Feat, did honour and reward the Author with a Present of 10 *l.* in their Money*, because he made use of his own just Indignation, to gratifie the good Genius or guardian-Angel of *Timoleon*, and did not spend those Resentments he had treasur'd up of old before that time; but luckily defer the Revenge of a private Quarrel for his preservation.

But this so fortunate an Escape had Effects and Consequences beyond the present, for it inspir'd the *Corinthians* with mighty Hopes

* About
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Hopes and future Expectations of *Timoleon*, seeing the People now reverence and protect him as a sacred Person, and one sent by God to avenge and redeem *Sicily*. *Icetes* having mis'd of his aim in this enterprize, and perceiving also that many went off, and sided with *Timoleon*, he began to chide himself for his foolish Modesty, that when so considerable a Force of the *Carthaginians* lay ready to be commanded by him, he should employ them hitherto by degrees and in small numbers, introducing their Auxiliaries by stealth, and after a sneaking clandestine manner, as if he had been ashamed of the Action. Therefore now laying aside his former Niceness and Caution, he calls in *Mago*, their Admiral, with his whole Navy, who presently set Sail, and seiz'd upon the Port with a formidable Fleet of at least a 150 Vessels, landing there 60000 Foot, which were all lodg'd within the City of *Syracuse*: so that in all mens opinion, the time anciently talk'd of, and long expected; wherein *Sicily* should be over-run by a barbarous People, was now come to its fatal period; for in all their preceeding Wars, and so many desperate Conflicts with those of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* had never been able, before this, to take *Syracuse*; but *Icetes* then receiving them, and putting the City into their hands, you might see it become

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now as it were a Camp of these *Barbarians*. By this means the *Corinthian* Soldiers that kept the Castle, found themselves brought into great Danger and Hardship; for beside that their Provision grew scarce, and they began to be in want, because the Havens were strictly guarded and block'd up, the Enemy did exercise them still with Skirmishes and Combats about their Walls, and they were not only oblig'd to be continually in Arms, but to divide and prepare themselves for Assaults and Encounters of every kind, and to sustain the shock of all those forcible Engines and Instruments of Battery, which are devis'd and made use of by such as besiege Cities.

Timoleon however made a shift to relieve them in these Straits, sending Corn from *Catana* by small Fisher-Boats and little Skiffs, which commonly got a Passage through the *Carthaginian* Gallies in the most tempestuous season, creeping over the Waves and Billows, and stealing up to the Castle, when those other were driven and dispers'd by the stress of weather: which *Mago* and *Iceles* observing, they agreed to fall upon *Catana*, from whence these Supplies were brought in to the Besieged, and accordingly put off from *Syracuse*, taking with them their prime chosen Men, and the stoutest Souldiers in their whole Army. Then *Leo*
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the *Corinthian*, (who was Captain of those that kept the Cittadel) taking notice that the Enemies which stay'd there behind, were very negligent and careless in keeping Guard, made a sudden Sally upon them as they lay scatter'd, wherein killing some, and putting others to Flight, he took and possess'd that Quarter which they call *Acradina*, and was thought to be the best and strongest, and the most entire part of *Syracuse*, a City made up and compacted as it were of several Towns put together: having thus stor'd himself with Corn and Money, he did not abandon the Place, nor retire again into the Castle, but fortifying the Precincts of *Acradina*, and joyning it by certain Works to the Cittadel, he undertook the defence of both. *Mago* and *Iceles* were now come near to *Catana*, when a Horse-man dispatch'd from *Syracuse*, brought them tidings that *Acradina* was taken; upon which they return'd in all haste with great Disorder and Confusion, having neither been able to reduce the City they went against, nor to preserve that they were Masters of.

Now these Adventures were such, as might leave Foresight and Courage a pretence still of disputing it with Fortune, which did contribute most to the Success of them. But the following Event seems altogether an Effect of good Luck, and can be a-

scrib'd to nothing but pure Felicity ; for the *Corinthian* Souldiers which stay'd at *Thurium*, partly for fear of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, which lay in wait for them under the Command of *Hanno*, and partly because of the tempestuous Weather which had lasted for many days, took a resolution to march by Land over the *Brutian* Territories, and what with Perswasion and Force together, made good their Passage through those *Barbarians* to the City of *Rhegium*, the Sea being still rough and raging as before. But *Hanno* not expecting the *Corinthians* would venture out, and supposing it would be in vain to wait there any longer, bethought himself, as he imagin'd, of a very notable Stratagem, and such a cunning Invention, as would be apt to delude and insnare the Enemy ; in pursuance of which Subtilty, he commanded the Sea-men to crown themselves with Garlands, and adorning his Gallies with Bucklers both of the *Greek* and *Carthaginian* Make, he sail'd away for *Syracuse* in this triumphant Equipage, and using all his Oars as he pass'd under the Castle with much Clapping and Laughter, he cry'd out on purpose to dishearten the Besieged, that he came from vanquishing and taking the *Corinthian* Succours, which he fell upon at Sea, as they were passing over into *Sicily*. While he was thus trifling and playing

playing his Tricks before *Syracuse*, the *Corinthians*, now come as far as *Rhegium*, observing the Coast clear, and that the Wind was laid as it were by Miracle, to afford them in all appearance a quiet and smooth Passage, went immediately aboard on such little Barques and Fisher-boats as were then at hand, and got over to *Sicily* with so much safety and such a strange calmness, that they drew their Horses by the Reins, swimming along by them as the Vessels were under Sayl. When they were all landed, *Timoleon* came to receive them, and presently took in *Messina* by their means, from whence he march'd in good order to *Syracuse*, trusting more to his late prosperous Atchievements, than his present strength, for the whole Army he had then with him, did not exceed the number of 4000; however *Mago* was troubled and fearful at the first notice of his coming, but grew more apprehensive and jealous still upon this occasion. The Marishes about *Syracuse*, that receive a great deal of fresh Water, as well from Springs and Fountains, as from Lakes and Rivers, discharging themselves into the Sea, do breed abundance of Eels, which may be always taken there in great quantities, by any that will fish for them. Now the mercenary Souldiers that serv'd on both sides, were wont to follow the Sport together at their

vacant hours, and upon any cessation of Arms; who being all Greeks, and having no Cause of private Enmity to each other, as they would venture bravely in Fight, so in the times of Truce, they did meet and converse amicably together; and at that season, happening to be employ'd about the common business of Fishing, they fell into various Conference, some expressing their admiration as to the nature and fruitfulness of that Sea, and others telling how much they were taken with the Convenience, and commodious situation of the adjacent Places, which gave a hint to one of the Corinthian Party to demand thus of the others: *And is it possible that you who are Grecians born, should be so forward to reduce a City of this Greatness, and endu'd with so many rare Advantages, into the state of Barbarism? and lend your Assistance to plant Carthaginians, that are the worst and bloodiest of men, so much nearer to us; whereas you should rather wish there were many more Sicilies to lye between them and Greece: have you so little sense as to believe, that they come hither with an Army from Hercules his Pillars, and the Atlantick Sea, to hazard themselves for the establishment of Icetes? who if he had had the Consideration which becomes a General, would never have thrown out his Ancestors and Founders, to bring in the Enemies of his Country*

Country in the room of them, but might have enjoy'd all suitable Honour and Command, with consent of Timoleon and the rest of Corinth. The Greeks that were in Pay with Icetes, noising these Discourses about their Camp, gave Mago some ground to suspect (who had long sought for a Pretence to be gone) that there was Treachery contriv'd against him; so that albeit Icetes entreated him to tarry, and made it appear how much stronger they were than the Enemy, yet conceiving they came far more short of Timoleon, both as to Courage and Fortune, than they did surpass him in number, he presently went aboard, and set Sail for Africa, letting Sicily escape out of his hands with dishonour to himself, and for such unknown Causes, that no humane Reason could give an account of his departure. The day after he went away, Timoleon came up before the City, appointed for a Battel; but when he and his Company both heard of their sudden Flight, and saw the Haven empty, they could not forbear laughing at the Cowardise of Mago, and by way of Mockery caus'd Proclamation to be made throughout, that he should have a good Reward for his Intelligence, who could bring them tidings whither it was that the Carthaginian Fleet had convey'd it self from them. However

However *Icetes* resolving to fight it out alone, and not quitting his hold of the City, but sticking close to those Quarters he was in possession of, as Places that were well fortifi'd, and not easie to be attack'd, *Timoleon* divided his Forces into three parts, and fell upon that side himself, where the River *Anapus* run, and which was most strong and difficult of access, commanding others that were led by *Ihas*, a *Corinthian* Captain; to make their Assault from the Post of *Acradina*, while *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus*, that brought him the last Supply from *Corinth*, should with a third Division attempt that Quarter which is call'd *Epipolæ*. So that a forcible Impression being made from every side at once, by which the Souldiers of *Icetes* were beaten off and put to flight, that the City now came to be taken by Storm, and fell suddenly into their hands, upon such a Defeat and Recession of the Enemy, we must in all justice ascribe this to the Valour of the Combatants, and the wise Conduct of their General; but that not so much as a Man of the *Corinthians* was either slain or wounded in the Action, that the Good Fortune of *Timoleon* seems to challenge for her own Work, and boast of the Protection, as striving out of a jealous Fondness, to exceed and obscure his Fortitude by her extraordinary

extraordinary Favours, that those who hear him commended for his noble Deeds, may rather admire the Happiness, than the Merit of them: for the Fame of what was done, did not only pass through all *Sicily*, and run over *Italy* in a trice, but even *Greece* it self after a few days came to ring also with the greatness of his Exploit, insomuch that those of *Corinth*, who could hardly believe their Auxiliaries were yet landed on the Isle, had tidings brought them at the same time that they were safe and Conquerors; in so prosperous a course did Affairs run, while Fortune added haste and quickness as a new Ornament, to set off the native Lustres of that Performance. *Timoleon* being Master of the Cittadel, did avoid the Error which *Dion* had been guilty of before; for he spar'd not that Place for the beauty and sumptuousness of its Fabrick, but declining the Causes of that Suspicion, which did first slander, and then destroy him, he made a publick Cryer give notice, that all the *Syracusians* who were willing to have a hand in the Work, should bring Pick-axes and Mattocks, and other Instruments, and help him to demolish that Fortress of Tyranny. When they all came up with one accord, looking upon that order and that day, as the surest foundation of their Liberty, they not

not only pull'd down the Castle, but over-
turn'd the Palaces and Monuments adjoin-
ing, and whatever else might preserve any
Memory of former Tyrants. Having soon
levell'd and clear'd the Place, he there pre-
sently erected a Common-Hall, for the
Seat of Judicature, gratifying the Citizens
by this means, and building Popular Go-
vernment on the Fall and Ruine of Tyranny.
But since he had recover'd a City, that was
now destitute of Inhabitants, some of them
perishing in their Civil Wars and Insur-
rections, and others being fled to escape
Tyrants, through Solitude and want of
People, the great Market-place of *Syracuse*
was overgrown with such quantity of rank
Herbage, that it became a Pasture for their
Horses, the Grooms lying along in the Grass
as they fed by them; inasmuch also as
other Towns, (very few excepted) were
become full of Stags and Wild Boars, and
such as had nothing else to do, went fre-
quently a Hunting, and found Game in
the Suburbs and about the Walls: but not
a Man of those who had possess'd themselves
of Castles, or made Garisons in the Coun-
treys, could be perswaded to quit their pre-
sent Abode, or would accept an Invitation
of returning back into the City, so much did
they all dread and abhor the very Name of
Assemblies, and Corporations, and Tribunals,
that

that did produce the greater part of those
Usurpers, which had successively assum'd a
Dominion over them. *Timoleon* therefore,
with the *Syracusans* that remain'd, consider-
ing that vast Desolation, and how little hope
there was to have it otherwise supplied,
thought good to write unto the *Corinthi-
ans*, that they would send a Colony out of
Greece to re-people *Syracuse*, for else the Land
about it would lye fallow and unimprov'd;
and beside this Inconvenience, they did ex-
pect to be involv'd in a greater War, from *A-
frica*, having Newsbrought them, that when
Mago had kill'd himself, the *Carthaginians*, out
of Rage for his ill-Conduct in the late Expe-
dition, did cause his Body to be nail'd up-
on a Cross, and that they were raising a
mighty Force, with design to make their
Descent upon *Sicily* the next Summer. These
Letters from *Timoleon* being deliver'd at *Co-
rinth*, and the Ambassadors of *Syracuse* be-
seeching them at the same time, that they
would take upon them the Care of their poor
City, and once again become the Founders
of it, the *Corinthians* were not tempted by a
greedy Humour to lay hold of that Advan-
tage, nor did they seize and appropriate such
a famous City to themselves, but going about
first to those Games and Exercises, which
they term sacred in *Greece*, and their
solemn Meetings of greatest Confluence,
they

they made Publication by Heralds, that the *Corinthians* having destroy'd the Usurpation that was at *Syracuse*, and driven out the Tyrant, did thereby call home the *Syracusan* Exiles, and any other *Sicilian* that would come and dwell in the City, to an enjoyment of freedom under their own Laws, with promise that the Land should be divided among them in just and equal Proportions. And after this, sending Messengers into *Asia*, and the several Islands, where they understood that most of the scattered Fugitives did then reside, they made it their Request, that they would all repair to *Corinth*, upon assurance that the *Corinthians* would afford them Vessels, and Commanders, and a safe Convoy, at their own Charges; which noble Atchievment of theirs, and such a generous Proposal, being then spread about, they had the due Tribute, and most honourable Recompence of Praise and Benediction, for delivering the Country from Oppressors, and saving it from *Barbarians*, and restoring it at length to the rightful Owners of the Place; who when they were assembled at *Corinth*, and found how insufficient their Company was, besought the *Corinthians*, that they might have a Supplement of other Persons, as well out of their City as the rest of *Greece*, to cohabit with them, which being made up to the

number

number of 10000, they sail'd together unto *Syracuse*. By this time great Multitudes from *Italy* and *Sicily* had flock'd in to *Timoleon*, so that, as *Athanis* reports, their entire Body did amount now to 60000 Men: among these he divided the whole Territory, and sold the Houses for 1000 Talents; by which Contrivance, he both left it in the power of the old *Syracusians* to redeem their own, and made that an occasion too of raising a Stock for the Community, which had been so much impoverish'd of late, and was so unable to defray other Expences, and especially those of a War, that they expos'd their very Statues to Sale, a kind of regular Process being form'd in the Business, and sentence of Auction pass'd upon each of them by most Voices, as if they had been so many Criminals and Condemned Persons: but it is said, the *Syracusians* did then agree to exempt and preserve the Statue of *Gelo*, one of their ancient Kings, when all the rest were doom'd to suffer a common Sale, in Admiration and Honour of the Man, and for the sake of that Victory he got over the *Carthaginian* Forces at the River *Himera*.

Syracuse being thus happily reviv'd, and replenish'd again by a general Concourse of its Inhabitants from all Parts, *Timoleon* was desirous now to rescue other Cities from the like Bondage, yea even wholly and once for all

all to extirpate Arbitrary Government out of *Sicily*; and for this purpose, marching into the Territories of those that us'd it, he compell'd *Icetes* first to renounce the *Carthaginian* Interest, and further to consent, that, demolishing the Fortresses which were held by him, he should live among the *Leontinians* as a private Person. *Leptines* also, the Tyrant of *Apollonia*, and divers other little Towns, after some Resistance made, seeing the danger he was in to be taken by Force, surrender'd himself; wherupon *Timoleon* spar'd his Life, and sent him away to *Corinth*, counting it a very glorious thing both for himself and Countrey, that their Mother-City should expose those *Sicilian* Tyrants to the view of other *Greeks* living now in an Exil'd, and a low condition. After this he return'd to *Syracuse*, that he might have leisure to attend the Constitution of their Community, and assist *Cephalus* and *Dionysius* (who were sent from *Corinth* to make Laws) in establishing the principal Things, and the best Orders for a publick Settlement. In the mean while, having a mind that his hired Souldiers should not want Action, but rather enrich themselves by some Plunder from the Enemy, he dispatch'd *Dinarchus* and *Demaretus* with a select Body of them, into a certain Province that belong'd to the *Carthaginians*, who obliging several

several Cities to revolt from the *Barbarians*, did not only live in great abundance themselves, but rais'd Money from their Captives and their Prey to carry on the War. But when these Matters were transacting, the *Carthaginians* landed at the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, bringing with them an Army of 70000 Men, aboard 200 Galleys, besides a 1000 other Vessels, laden all with Engines of Battery, and Chariots, and quantity of Corn, and other military Preparations, as if they did intend not to manage the War by piece-meal, and in parts as heretofore, but to drive the *Grecians* altogether and at once out of all *Sicily*. And indeed it was a Force sufficient to seize and subdue the *Sicilians*, though they had then had the Entireness and the Strength of a perfect Union among themselves, and much more when they were so infeeble through their own Distempers, and harass'd in pieces by one another. Hearing therefore that a Territory of their Dependence was laid waste, they presently made toward the *Corinthians* with great Fury, having *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar* for their Generals; the report of whose multitude and Approach flying suddenly to *Syracuse*, they were so terrifi'd there at the greatness of such a Power, that hardly 3000, among so many Myriads of them, had the Courage

rage to take up Arms, and joyn themselves with *Timoleon*. The Strangers that serv'd for Pay, were not above 4000 in all, and about a 1000 of those grew faint-hearted by the way, and forsook *Timoleon* in his March toward the Enemy, looking on him as a frantick and distracted Person, destitute of that Sense and Consideration, which might have been expected from one of his Age, who must needs venture out against an Army of 70000 Men, with no more than 5000 Foot, and a 1000 Horse, and when he should have stay'd to defend the City with the small Forces which he had, chose rather to remove them eight days journey from *Syracuse*, so that if they were beaten out of the Field, there was no Place of Retreat whither they might retire with safety, or, if they happen'd to die upon the spot, there would be none to take care of their Burial. *Timoleon* however reckon'd it some kind of Advantage, that they had thus discover'd themselves before the Battel, and encouraging the rest, he led them with all speed to the River *Crimesus*, where it was told him the *Carthaginians* were drawn together; and as he was marching up an Ascent, from the top of which they might take a view of the Army, and strength of the Enemy, there met him by chance a company of Mules loaden

loaden with Parsly, that which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ominous Occurrence or ill-boding Token, because this is the very Herb wherewith we usually adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead, which Custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one who is dangerously sick, that he has need of nothing but Parsly, which is in effect to say, He is a dead Man, and ready for his Grave. Now that *Timoleon* might ease their Minds, and free them from these superstitious Thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put a stop to his March, and having alledg'd many other things in a Discourse suitable to the Occasion, he concluded it by saying, That a Garland of Triumph was here luckily brought them, and had fallen into their hands of its own accord, as an Anticipation of Victory; inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown those that get the better in their *Isthmian* Games, with Chaplets of Parsly, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to their Countrey; for Parsly was ever then the conquering Ornament of the *Isthmian*, as it is now of the *Nemean* Sports, and it is not very long that Branches of the Pine-tree came to succeed, and be made use of for that purpose.

Timoleon therefore, as I said, having thus

bespoke his Souldiers, took part of the Parfly, wherewith he made himself a Chaplet first, and then his Captains and their Companies did all crown themselves with it, in imitation of their Leader. The Soothsayers then observing also two Eagles on the wing toward them, one of which bore a Dragon struck through with her Talons, and the other, as she flew, made a great and terrible kind of noise, which argu'd Boldness and Assurance, they presently shew'd them to the Souldiers, who with one consent fell to supplicate the Gods, and call them in to their Assistance. It was now about the beginning of Summer, and conclusion of the Month call'd * *Thargelion*, when the season of the year inclines toward the Solstice, the River then sending up a thick Mist, all the adjacent Plain was first darkened with the Fog, so that in a while they could discern nothing from the Enemies Camp, only a confused Buz and undistinguish'd mixture of Voices came up to the Hill, from the distant Motions and Clamours of so vast a Multitude. When the *Corinthians* were mounted and stood upon it, and had laid down their Bucklers to take breath and repose themselves, the Sun coming about, and drawing up the Vapours from below, the gross foggy Air that was now gather'd and condens'd above, did

* Which
answers to
our May.

over.

overcloud the Mountains, and all the under Places being clear and open, the River *Crimesus* appear'd to them again, and they could easily descry the Enemies passing over it, who mov'd in this order: First with their warlike Chariots, that were terribly appointed for the Conflict; after these came 10000 Foot-men, with white Targets on their Arms, whom they guess'd to be all *Carthaginians*, from the splendour of their Weapons, and the slowness of their motion, and the order of their March; and when several other Nations, flowing in behind them, did throng for Passage in a turbulent and unruly manner, *Timoleon* perceiving that the River gave them opportunity to single out as many of their Enemies, as they had a mind to engage at once, and bidding his Souldiers observe how their Forces were divided into two separate Bodies by the intervention of the Stream, some being already got over, and others still to ford it, he gave *Demaretus* Command to fall in upon the *Carthaginians* with his Horse, and disturb their Ranks, before they should be cast into a form of Battel: and coming down into the Plain himself, he made up his right and left Wing of other *Sicilians*, intermingling a few Strangers in each, but plac'd the Natives of *Syracuse* in the middle, with the

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stoutest

stoutest Mercenaries he had, about his own Person, and then stay'd a little to observe the Action of his Horse; but when he saw they were not only hindred from grappling with the *Carthaginians*, by those armed Chariots that run to and fro before their Army, but forc'd continually to wheel about, to avoid the danger of having their Ranks broken, and then to make frequent Careers, as they had means to return upon them, he took his Buckler in his hand, and crying out to the Foot, that they should follow him with Courage and Confidence, he seem'd to speak with a more than humane Accent, and a Voice stronger than ordinary; whether he strain'd it to that loudness, through an apprehension of the present danger, and from the vehemence and ardour of his mind to assault the Enemy, or else (as many then were of opinion) some God or other did exclaim with him in such a thundring Utterance. When his Soldiers gave a dreadful Eccho thereto, and besought him to lead them on without any further delay, he made a sign to the Horse, that they should draw off from the Front where they had plac'd the Chariots, and fetching a side compass, attack the Enemies in the Flank; then making his Vanguard firm, by joyning Man to Man, and Buckler to Buckler, he caus'd the Trum-

pet

pet to sound, and so bore in with the *Carthaginians*; who did stoutly receive and sustain his first Onset; for having their Bodies arm'd with Breast-plates of Iron, and Helmets of Brass, beside great Bucklers to cover and secure them, they could easily repel the force of their Javelins: but when the business came to a decision by the Sword, where Mastery depends no less upon Art than Strength, all on a sudden there broke out terrible Thunders and fiery Flashes, darting forth from the Mountain tops; after which, the Gloominess that hover'd about the upper Grounds and the rocky Cliffs, descending to the Place of Battel, and bringing a Tempest of Rain, and of Wind and Hail along with it, was driven upon the *Greeks* behind, and fell only at their Backs, but discharg'd it self in the very Face of the *Barbarians*, and through the stormy Showers, and continual Flames pouring down together from the Clouds, did dazle and confound their sight: in which Accident, there were many things that did sorely afflict them all, but chiefly their unexperient Men, who had not been us'd to such Hardships, among which the very Claps of Thunder, and the sounding noise of their Weapons, beaten with the violence of Rain and Hail-stones, were not their least Annoyance, as that which kept them

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from

from hearing the Commands of their Officers. Beside this, the very Dirt also was a great hindrance to the *Carthaginians*, as less expedite and nimble in their Harness, they being, as I said before, all loaden with heavy Armour; and then their Jackets too, drench'd through with Water in the folding thereof about their Bosom, grew unwieldy and cumberfom to them as they fought, but gave the *Greeks* an Advantage of overturning them with ease, and when they were once down, it was impossible under that weight to disengage themselves from the Mire, and rise again with Weapons in their Hand: for the River *Crimesus* swollen partly by the Rain, and partly by the stoppage of its Course, from the multitude of those that were passing through, did overflow its Banks, and the Level on each side lying under several Cavities and Confluences of Water, was fill'd with Rivulets and Currents that had no certain Channel, which the *Carthaginians* rowling about in, were very hardly bestead; so that in fine, the Storm and Torrent bearing still upon them, and the *Greeks* having cut in pieces 400 Men of their first Ranks, the whole Body of their Army began to fly, great numbers of which being overtaken in the Plain, were put to the Sword there; and many of them as they fled, falling foul upon others that were yet coming over, they

all

all tumbled and perished together, born down and overwhelmed by the impetuoufness of the River; but the major part attempting to get up the Hills, and so make their Escape, were prevented and slain by those that were lightly armed. It is said that of 10000 which lay dead after the Fight, 3000 at least were all Natives of *Carthage*, a lamentable and uncommon loss to that City, for those that fell therein were inferior to none among them, as to the quality of their Birth, or the wealthiness of their House, or the reputation of their Courage: nor do their Records mention that so many natural *Carthaginians* were ever cut off before in any one Battel; for they did usually imploy the *Africans*, and *Spaniards*, and *Numidians*, in their Wars, so that if they chanc'd to be defeated, it was still at the cost and damage of other Nations. Now the *Greeks* did easily discover of what condition and account the Slain were, by the richness of their Spoils; for when they came to seize upon the Prey, there was very little reckoning made either of Brass or Iron, so great was the plenty of better Metals, and that abundance of Silver and Gold which fell into their hands, for passing over the River, they became Masters of their Camp and Carriages: as for the Captives, a great many of them were filch'd away, and sold privately

by

by the Souldiers, but about 5000 were brought in, and deliver'd up for the benefit of the Publick; they took beside 200 of their warlike Chariots. The Tent of *Timoleon* did then afford a very graceful Sight and magnificent Appearance, being heaped up and hung round with all variety of Spoils and military Ornaments, among which there were a 1000 Breast-plates of rare workmanship and Beauty, and 1000 Bucklers expos'd to view: but the Victors being but few to strip so many that were vanquish'd, and meeting too with great Booty, it was the 3^d day after the Fight before they could erect and finish the Trophy of their Conquest. *Timoleon* sent tidings of his Victory to *Corinth*, with the best and goodliest Arms he had taken, as a Proof of it, that he might render his Country an object of Emulation to the whole World, when of all the Cities of *Greece*, men should there only behold their chief Temples adorn'd, not with *Grecian* Spoils, nor Offerings that were got by the Bloodshed and Plunder of their own Countrymen and Kindred, (which must needs create very unpleasing Remembrances) but such as had been stripp'd from *Barbarians*, and Enemies to their Nation, with the most handsome Titles inscrib'd, which did manifest the Justice as well as Fortitude of the Conquerours, namely, that the People of *Corinth*,

Corinth, and *Timoleon* their General, having redeem'd the *Grecians* that dwelt in *Sicily*, from *Carthaginian* Bondage, did make an Oblation thereof to the Gods, in acknowledgment of the Advantage they had gain'd by their Favour. Having done this, he left his hired Souldiers in the Enemies Countrey, to drive and carry away all they could throughout the Province of *Carthage*, and so march'd with the rest of his Army to *Syracuse*, where he made an Edict for banishing the 1000 Mercenaries, which had basely deserted him before the Battel, and oblig'd them to quit the City before Sun-set, who sailing into *Italy*, lost their Lives there by the hands of the *Brutians*, though they had given them the assurance of publick Faith; thus receiving from God (the avenger of Perfidiousness and Falshood) a very just Reward of their own Treachery. But *Mamercus* the Tyrant of *Catana*, and *Icetes* after all, either envying *Timoleon* the Glory of his Exploits, or fearing him as one that would keep no Agreement, nor have any Peace with Tyrants, made a League with the *Carthaginians*, and press'd them very much to send a new Army and Commander into *Sicily*, unless they would be content to hazard all, and to be wholly ejected out of that Island. Whereupon they dispatch'd *Gisgo* with a Navy of 70 Sail, who took several *Grecians* into Pay, that

that being the first time they had ever been list'd for the *Punick* Service; but then it seems they began to admire them, as the most insupportable and pugnacious of Man kind. The Inhabitants of *Messina* entering now with one accord into a general Conspiracy, slew 400 of those Strangers which *Timoleon* had sent to their Assistance; and within the Dependencies of *Carthage*, at a Place call'd *Hieræ*, (*i. e.* Sacred) the Mercenaries that serv'd under *Euthymus* the *Lacædæmonian*, were all cut off by an Ambush that was laid for them: from which Accidents however the Felicity of *Timoleon* grew chiefly remarkable, for these were the men that with *Philodemus* of *Phocis* and *Onomarchus*, had forcibly broke into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and were partakers with them in the Sacrilege; so that being hated and shunn'd by all, as so many execrable Persons, they were constrain'd to wander about in *Peloponnesus*, when for want of others, *Timoleon* was glad to entertain them in his Expedition for *Sicily*, where they happen'd to be successful, in whatever Enterprize they engaged under his Conduct. But the most and greatest of those Rencounters being now ended, he sent them abroad for the relief and defence of his Party in several Places, and here they were lost and consum'd at a distance from him, not altogether, but in small parcels,

parcels; the Vengeance then inflicted making *Timoleon's* Prosperity an excuse of its delay, that good Men might not suffer any harm or prejudice, by the punishment and ruine of the wicked; insomuch that the Benevolence and Kindness which the Gods had for *Timoleon*, came to be discern'd and admir'd no less, from his very Miscarriages and Disasters, than any of those former Achievements he had been the most fortunate and successful in.

But amidst their late Misadventures, that which did vex and provoke the *Syracusians* most, was their being affronted too by the insolent Behaviour of these Tyrants; for *Mamercus* in particular valuing himself much, upon the faculty he had to make Poems and Tragedies, took occasion to boast of that and his Victory together, when coming to present the Gods with the Bucklers of their hired Souldiers that were slain by him, he caus'd such an abusive Elegy or Epigram to be underwritten.

These Shields, with Purple, Gold, and Ivory wrought,

Were taken by us that with poor ones fought.

After these things, while *Timoleon* march'd to *Calauria*, *Iceles* made an Inroad into the Borders of *Syracuse*, where he met with con-

considerable Booty, and having done great mischief and havock, he return'd back even by *Calauria* it self, in contempt of *Timoleon*, and the slender Force he had then with him, who suffering *Iceles* to pass along before, pursu'd him with his Horse-men and light Infantry, which *Iceles* perceiving, cross'd the River *Damyrias*, and then stood as it were in a posture to receive him; for the difficulty of that Passage, and the height and steepness of the Bank on each side, gave advantage enough to make him thus confident. But there happen'd a strange Contention and Dispute among the Officers of *Timoleon*, which did a little retard the Conflict, for there was none of them that would let another pass over before him to engage the Enemy, but every one did challenge it as a Right, to venture first and begin the Onset; so that their fording over was like to be tumultuous and without order, while they did mutually jostle and press forward, striving which should be the foremost. *Timoleon* therefore desiring this Controversie might be decided by Lot, took a Ring from each of the Pretenders, which he cast into his own Robe, and having shak'd them together, the first he drew out and expos'd to view, had by good Fortune the Figure of a Trophy engraven for the Seal of it, which when the younger Captains saw, they all shouted for joy,

joy, and without waiting any longer, to see how Chance would determine it for the rest, every man took his way through the River with all the speed he could make, and fell to buckle with the Enemies, who were not able to bear up against the violence of their Attack, but running away in haste, they left their Arms behind them all alike, and a 1000 dead upon the Place. It was not long after that *Timoleon* marching up to the City of *Leontium*, took *Iceles* alive, and his Son *Eupolemus*, and *Euthymus* the Commander of his Horse, that were bound and brought to him by their own Souldiers: *Iceles*, with the Stripling his Son, were then executed as Tyrants and Traytors; and *Euthymus*, though a brave Man, and one of singular Courage, was slain without Mercy, being charg'd with some contemptuous Language that had been us'd by him, in disparagement of the *Corinthians*; for it is said, that when they first sent their Forces into *Sicily*, he told the People of *Leontium* in a Speech of his, *That the News did not sound terrible, nor was any great danger to be fear'd—If the Corinthian Dames were come abroad.* Now, from hence we may remark, that men are usually more stung and galled by a few reproachful words, than many hostile actions; for they bear the slightings of Disdain and Affront with less patience, than they will Harm, or Mischiefs,

Mischief, since to plague and damnify by Deeds, is what the World does allow and count pardonable from Enemies, because it is a necessary thing, and no less can be expected in a state of War; whereas the Virulence and Contumely of the Tongue, is an Argument and Expression of needless Hatred, and seems to proceed from a superfluity of Malice and excessive Rancor. When *Timoleon* came back to *Syracuse*, the Citizens brought the Wives and Daughters of *Icetes* and his Son to a publick Tryal, who, being there condemned to die, did all suffer accordingly; which seems to have been the most disagreeable and unhandsom Action of *Timoleon's* Life, for if he had interpos'd his Authority to hinder it, the poor Women doubtless had never come to this unhappy End; but he was thought to connive thereat, and give them up to the incens'd Multitude, that did thus revenge the Injuries of *Dion*, who expell'd *Dionysius*; for it was this very *Icetes* which took *Arete* the Wife, and *Aristomache* the Sister of *Dion*, with a Son of his, that had not yet pass'd his Childhood, and threw them all together into the Sea alive, as I have related that Villany in the Life of *Dion*. After this he mov'd towards *Catana* against *Mamercus*, who giving him Battel near the River *Abolus*, was overthrownd and put to flight, losing above 2000 men, considerable

considerable part of which were the *Punick* Troops, that *Gisco* sent in to his Assistance.

Upon this Defeat, the *Carthaginians* besought him to make a Peace with them, which he consented to, under the observance of these Articles: 1. That they should confine themselves to that part of the Countrey, which lyes within the River *Lycus*. 2. That such as were desirous to transplant themselves, and remove thence to the *Syracusians*, should have the liberty of doing it with their whole Family and Fortune. And last of all, That they of *Carthage* should from that day forward renounce all Leagues and Associations, whereby they might any ways stand engag'd to succour and relieve the *Sicilian* Tyrants. *Mamercus*, forsaken now, and despairing of Success, went aboard for *Italy*, with a Design to bring in the *Lucanians* against *Timoleon*, and the People of *Syracuse*: but when those of his Company tack'd about with their Gallies, and landing again at *Sicily*, deliver'd up *Catana* to *Timoleon*, he was forc'd to shift for himself, and make his Escape to *Messina*, that was under the Tyranny of *Hippo*. *Timoleon* then coming up against them, and besieging the City both by Sea and Land, *Hippo*, fearful of the Event, endeavour'd to slip away in a Vessel, which the People of *Messina* surpriz'd as it was putting off, who

who seizing on his Person, and bringing his Children from School into the Theatre, to be entertain'd as it were with the most goodly Spectacle of a Tyrant punished, they first publickly scourg'd, and then put him to death. Whereupon *Mamercus* made Surrender of himself to *Timoleon*, with this Proviso, that he should be try'd at *Syracuse*, and *Timoleon* have no hand in his Accusation: whither he was brought accordingly, and appearing to plead before the People, he essay'd to pronounce an Oration he had long before made in his own Defence; but finding himself interrupted by Noise and Clamours, and observing from their Aspect and Demeanour, that the whole Assembly was inexorable, he threw off his upper Garment, and running cross the Theatre as hard as he could drive, violently dash'd his Head against one of the Posts where they were sitting, with intention to have kill'd himself; but he had not the fortune to perish, as he design'd, but was taken up alive, and hurry'd to the same Execution by which they dispatch Robbers.

After this manner did *Timoleon* cut the Nerves of Tyranny, and put a period to their Wars: for whereas at his first entering upon *Sicily*, the Island was all savage and hateful to the very Natives, by reason of the Evils and Miseries they suffer'd there, he

he did so civilize, and quiet, and reform the Country, and render it so desirable to all men, that even Strangers now came by Sea to inhabit those Towns and Places, which their own Citizens had forsaken and left desolate: for *Agrigentum* and *Gelo*, two famous Cities, that had been ruin'd and laid waste by the *Carthaginians* after the Attack War, were then peopled again, the one by *Megellus* and *Pheristus*, that came from *Elea* in *Peloponnesus*, the other by *Gorgus* from *Cea*, one of the Isles called *Cyclades*, who having pick'd up some of the old Inhabitants among other Company, brought them back with the rest to their former Dwellings; to all which *Timoleon* did not only afford a secure and peaceable Abode in their new Settlement, after so obstinate a War, but making provision of other Necessaries, and giving them a chearful Assistance in all things, he had the same Love and Respect from them, as if he had been their Founder; which Inclination and Esteem for him running through all the rest of the *Sicilians*, there was no Proposal for Peace, nor Sanction by Law, nor Assignment of Dwelling, nor any Form and Order of Government, which they did acquiesce in, or could think well of, unless he were at the end of it, as a chief Architect to finish and adorn the Work, supperadding some graceful Touches

from his own Hand, which might render it agreeable and pleasing both to God and Man: for although Greece had produc'd several Persons of extraordinary Worth, and much renown'd for their Atchievements in his time, such as *Timotheus*, and *Agefilas*, and *Pelopidas*, and the great *Epaminondas*, whom *Timoleon* did admire, and most endeavour to imitate, above all the rest, yet the lustre of their brightest Actions, was mingled with an alloy of certain Violence and Labour, insomuch that some of them became matter of Reproof, and a Subject of Repentance; whereas there is not any one Fact of *Timoleon's* (setting aside the necessity of that in reference to his Brother) whereunto, as *Timæus* does observe, we may not fitly apply that Exclamation of *Sophocles*: —

*O Gods! what Venus, or what Grace divine,
Touch'd the Performance here, and made it shine!*

For as the Poetry of *Antimachus*, and the Painting of *Dionysius*, both Natives of *Colophon*, having force and vigour enough in them, did yet appear to be strained and elaborate Pieces, when the Pictures of *Nicomachus*, and the Verses of *Homer*, besides other Advantages of Strength and Beauty, have this peculiar Excellence, that they seem to come readily

readily from them, and to be wrought off with ease, and a stroke of Mastery; so likewise if with the Expeditions and Conduct of *Epaminondas*, or *Agefilas*, that were full of Toil and Strugling, we compare that of *Timoleon*, which had much smoothness and facility, joyn'd with the Splendour and worthiness of what he did, it will appear to all that consider well, and judge rightly, to be the effect not of simple Fortune, but rather of a prosperous and happy Courage; though he himself did modestly ascribe the great Success of his Undertakings to the sole Favour of Providence; for both in the Letters which he wrote to his Friends at *Corinth*, and in those Speeches he made to the People of *Syracuse*, he would say, *That he was very thankful unto God, who (having a mind to preserve Sicily) was pleas'd to honour him with the Name and Title of that Deliverance he vouchsaf't it;* and having built a Chappel in his House, he there sacrific'd to good Hap, as a Deity that much favour'd him, and devoted the House it self to the same sacred Genius, that being a Fabrick which the *Syracusians* had rais'd for him, as a Reward and Monument of his brave Exploits, whereunto they annex'd the most delicious and goodly Manner of their whole Countrey, where he kept his Residence for the most part, and enjoy'd a sweet Privacy with his Wife

and Children that came to him from *Corinth*, for he return'd thither no more, as unwilling to be concern'd in the Broyls and Tumults of *Greece*, or expose himself to the publick Envy, (that ever fatal Mischiefe which many great Commanders do run upon, from an unatiable Appetite of Honour and Authority) but wisely chose to spend the remainder of his days in *Sicily*, and there to partake of those Blessings he had brought among them, the greatest whereof was, to behold so many Cities flourish, and so many thousands of People live happy through his means and procurement. But seeing not only all the Larks of that trusted sort which the *Latins* call *Cassitæ*, must, as *Simonides* proverbially speaks, have a Crest growing on their Heads, but in every Republick there will start up some lew'd Sycophant to raise Calumnies, it so happen'd at *Syracuse*, that two of their popular Spokesmen, *Laphystius* and *Demænetus* by Name, fell to slander *Timoleon*; the former of which requiring him to put in Sureties, that he would answer to a certain Indictment should be brought against him, *Timoleon* would not suffer the Citizens who were incens'd at his Demand, to oppose the Man, and hinder him from proceeding, since he of his own accord had been at all that trouble, and run so many dangerous Risks for this very end and

and purpose, that every one of them who had a mind to try Matters by Law, should freely have recourse to it. And when *Demænetus*, in a full Audience of the People, laid several things to his charge, which had been done while he was General, he made no other reply to him, but only said, *He was much indebted to the Gods, for granting the Request he had so often made them, namely, that he might live to see the Syracusians enjoy that liberty of Speech, which they now seem'd to be Masters of.* *Timoleon* therefore having by confession of all, done the greatest and the noblest things of any *Grecian* of his Age, and alone gotten the preheminance in those Actions, to which their Orators did always exhort the *Greeks*, by such Harangues and Panegyricks as they usually made at their solemn National Assemblies, and being carry'd off thence by Fortune unspotted and without blood, from the Calamities of Civil War, wherein ancient *Greece* was soon after involv'd; having also given sufficient proofs, as of his sage Conduct and manly Courage to the *Barbarians* and Tyrants, so of his Justice and Gentleness to the *Greeks*, and all his Friends in General; having raised too the greater part of those Trophies he won in Battel, without any Tears shed, or any Mourning worn, by the Citizens either of *Syracuse* or *Corinth*, and within less than 8 years space deliver'd

liver'd *Sicily* from its old Grievances and Mischiefs, and intestine Distempers, and given it up free to the native Inhabitants, his Eyes began to fail him, as he grew in Age, and a while after he became perfectly blind; not that he had done any thing himself which might occasion this Defect, or was depriv'd of his Sight by any outrage of Fortune, but it seems to have been some inbred and hereditary weakness that was founded in natural Causes, which by length of time came to discover it self; for it is said, that divers of his Kindred and Family were subject to the like gradual Decay, and lost all use of their Eyes, as he did, in their declining years, but *Athanis* the Historian tells us, that even during the War against *Hippo* and *Mamercus*, while he was in his Camp at *Mylæ*, there appear'd a white Speck within his Eye, from whence all did foresee the total Blindness that was coming on him; however this did not hinder him then from continuing the Siege, and prosecuting that War, till he got both the Tyrants into his power; but upon his coming back to *Syracuse*, he presently resign'd the Authority of sole Commander, and besought the Citizens to excuse him from any further Service, seeing things were already brought to so fair an issue. Now it is not so much to be wondred, that he himself should bear the Misfortune without any marks.

marks of Trouble, but that Respect and Gratitude which the *Syracusians* shew'd him when he was stark blind, may justly deserve our Admiration, going themselves to visit him in Troops, and bringing all the Strangers that travel'd through their Countrey, to his House and Mannor, that they also might have the pleasure to see their noble Benefactor; making it the great matter of their Joy and Exultation, that, when, after so many brave and happy Exploits, he might have return'd with Triumph into *Greece*, he should despise all the glorious Preparations that were there made to receive him, and by a strange kind of Endearment, chose rather to abide there, and end his days among them: whereas therefore several other things were decreed and done in honour of *Timoleon*, I reckon this Vote of the *Syracusians*, to be a signal Testimony of their value for him, viz. that when-ever they did happen to be at War with any foreign Nation, they should make use of none but a *Corinthian* General; and the method of their proceeding in Council, was a handsome demonstration of the same Deference for his Person; for determining Matters of less Consequence themselves, they ever called him to advise in the more difficult Cases, and such as were of greater moment; who being carry'd through the Market-place in a Litter, and that brought with him

him sitting into the Theatre, the People with one Voice saluted him by his Name; then returning that Civility, and pausing for a time, till the noise of their Gratulations and Blessings began to cease, after hearing the Business in Debate, he deliver'd his Opinion, which being confirm'd by a general Suffrage, his Servants went back with the Litter through the midst of their Assembly, the People waiting on him out with Acclamations and Applauses, and so returning to consider of such publick Causes, as they us'd to dispatch in his absence; being thus cherish'd in his old Age, and with that Honour and Benevolence as if he had been their common Father, he was seiz'd with a very slight Indisposition, which however did assist and enable Time to put a period to his Life. There was an Allotment then of certain days given, within the space whereof the *Syracusians* were to provide what-ever should be necessary for his Burial, and all the neighbouring Inhabitants and Sojourners were to make their Appearance in a Body; so that the Funeral Pomp was set out with great Splendor and Magnificence in all other Respects, and the Hearse being deck'd with rich Ornaments and Trophies of War, was born by a select number of young Gentlemen, over that Ground where the Palace and Castle of *Dionysius* stood, before they were demolish'd

demolish'd by *Timoleon*. There attended on the Solemnity several thousands of Men and Women, all crowned with Flowers, all array'd in fresh and cleanly Attire, which made it look like the Procession of a publick Festival; the Discourse of all which, and their Tears mingled with the Praise and Benediction of the dead *Timoleon*, did manifestly show, that it was not any superficial Honour, or commanded Homage, which they then paid him, but the testimony of a just sorrow for his Death, and the expression and recompence of true Kindness. The Bier at length being plac'd upon the Pile of Wood that was kindled to consume his Corps, *Demetrius*, one of their loudest Cryers, began to read a Proclamation or written Edict to this purpose: ——— *The People of Syracuse has made a special Decree to interr Timoleon, the Son of Timodemus, that noble Corinthian, at the common Expence of 200 Attick * pounds, and to ho-*

* valu'd at
625 l. in
our Money.

nour his Memory for ever by an Appointment of annual Prizes to be celebratee in Musick, and Horse-races, and all sorts of bodily Exercise, and that, because he destroy'd Tyrants, and overthrew the Barbarians, and replenish'd many great Cities, that were ruinous and desolate before, with new Inhabitants, and then restor'd the Sicilians to a State of Freedom, and the Priviledge of living by their own Laws. Beside this, they made a Tomb for him

in the Market-place, which they afterward built round with Galleries, and joyn'd certain Cloisters thereto, as a Place of Exercise for their Youth, which had the Name of *Timoleoncum*; and then keeping to that Form and Order of Civil Policy, and observing those Laws and Constitutions which he left them, they liv'd themselves a long time in all manner of Prosperity.

THE

PELOPIDAS.



ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν γυναικα: Κ. γὰρ ἐν τῷ
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἔσθ' ἐννοεῖται. Α. ἰσχυρῶς.

Murg. sculp.

THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.

Translated from the Greek :

By *Thomas Creech* of *Wadham College* in *Oxon.*

Volume II.

Cato Major hearing some commend one that was rash, and inconsiderately daring in a Battel, said, *There is a difference between a man's prizing Valour at a great rate, and valuing Life at little : an excellent Saying; for Antigonus had a Souldier, a venturous*

turous Fellow, but of an ill Complexion, and very meager; and the King asking the Cause of his Paleness, and understanding from him that 'twas a secret Disease, he strictly commanded his Physicians to employ their utmost Skill, and recover him, if possible: but this brave Fellow being cut'd, never afterward sought Danger, never appear'd venturous in a Battel; insomuch that *Antigonus* wondred, and upbraided him with his Change: but the Man told him the Reason, and said, *Sir, You are the Cause of my Cowardise, by freeing me from those Miseries, which made me despise Life.* And upon the same account, the *Sybarite* seems to have said concerning the *Spartans*, *That 'twas no commendable thing in them to die in the Wars, since by that they were freed from such hard Labour, and miserable Diet;* but in truth the *Sybarites*, a soft and dissolute People, might imagine that they hated Life, because in their eager pursuit of Vertue and Glory they were not afraid to die: yet the *Lacedaemonians* esteem it a Vertue to be willing either to die or live, as that *Epicurum* testifies:

*They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death it self was simply good;
Or Life, both these the strictest Vertue try'd,
And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd, or dy'd.*

For

For an Endeavour to avoid Death is not commendable, if we do not basely desire to live; nor willingness to die good and virtuous, if it proceeds from a Contempt of Life: and therefore *Homer* always takes care to bring his brave and stout Men well arm'd into the Battel; and the *Greek* Lawgivers punish'd those that threw away their Shields, but not him that lost his Sword or Spear, intimating, that they should be more careful to defend themselves, than offend their Enemies. This every one ought to mind, but especially a Governour of a City, or a General; for if, as *Iphicrates* divides, the light arm'd are the Hands; the Horse the Feet; the Infantry the Breast; and the General the Head; when he puts himself upon danger, he doth not only venture his own Person, but all those whose safety depend on his; and so on the contrary. And therefore *Callicratides*, though in other things a great Man, did not answer the *Augur* well, who advis'd him, the Sacrifice being unlucky, to be careful of his Life; *Sparta*, says he, *doth not consist in one Man:* tis true, *Callicratides* in any Engagement either at Sea or Land, was but a single Person, but being General, he seem'd to contain the Life of all, and so must be more than one, since by his Death so many must be ruin'd. But better was the Saying of old

old *Antigonus*, who when he was to fight at *Andros*, and one told him, *The Enemies Ships are more than ours*; reply'd, *For how many then wilt thou reckon me?* intimating, that a stout and experienc'd Commander is highly to be valued, whose principal care it is to save him that preserves the rest: and therefore I applaud *Timotheus*, who when *Chares* shew'd the Wounds he had receiv'd, and his Shield pierc'd by a Dart, told him, *Indeed I should have been asham'd, if when I fought against Samos, a Dart should have fallen near me, as behaving my self more rashly than became a General of such an Army.* Indeed where the General's hazarding himself will do a great deal of good, there he must fight and venture his Person, and not mind their Maxims, who would have a General still die with Age, or at least an old Man; but when the Advantage will be but small if he gets the better, and the Loss considerable if he falls, who then would desire that good which a common Souldier might perform, with the danger of the Commander? This I thought fit to premise before the Lives of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, who were both great Men, but both ruin'd by their Rashness; for being stout Men, and having gotten their Countrey great Glory and Reputation by their Conduct, and fighting against terrible Enemies, the

one

one (as History delivers) overthrew *Annibal*, who was till then invincible; the other in a set Battel beat the *Lacedæmonians*, the Commanders at Sea and Land; but they ventur'd too far, and were heedlessly prodigal of their Lives, when there was the greatest need of such Men, and such Commanders: and this Agreement in their Tempers and their Deaths, is the Reason why I compare their Lives.

Pelopidas, the Son of *Hippoclus*, was descended, as likewise *Epaminondas* was, from an honourable Family in *Thebes*; and being bred in Gallantry, and having a fair Estate left him whilst he was young, he made it his business to relieve the good and deserving amongst the Poor, that he might shew himself Lord and not Slave to his Estate. For amongst Men, (as *Aristotle* observes) some are too narrow-minded to use their Wealth, and some are loose, and abuse it; and these live perpetual Slaves to their Pleasures, the others to their Gain. Others permitted themselves to be oblig'd by *Pelopidas*, and thankfully made use of his Liberality and Kindness; but amongst all his Friends, he could never perswade *Epaminondas* to be a sharer in his Wealth; therefore he stepp'd down into his Poverty, and pleas'd himself in mean Attire, spare Diet, unwearied diligence in labour, and plain-dealing in

Pelopidas of a good Family.

Y

in

in the Art of War: like *Capaneus* in *Euripides*, who had abundance of Wealth, but no Pride with it; he was asham'd any one should think that he spent more upon his Body than the meanest *Theban*. *Epaminondas* made his familiar and hereditary Poverty more light and easie, by his Philosophy and single Life, but *Pelopidas* was match'd to a Woman of a good Family, and got Children; but yet still forgetful of the main Chance, and spending all his time on the Publick, he ruin'd his Estate; and when his Friends advis'd him, and told him, *That Money, which he now neglected, was a necessary thing; Yes, he reply'd, 'tis necessary to that same Nicodemus, pointing to a Cripple.* Both seem'd equally born to all sorts of Vertue, but Exercise chiefly delighted *Pelopidas*, Learning *Epaminondas*, and the one spent his spare hours in Hunting, and the *Palestra*, the other in hearing Lectures or Philosophizing. And though there are a thousand Excellencies which commend both, yet the judicious esteem nothing equal to that constant Benevolence and Friendship, which they inviolably preserv'd in all their Expeditions, publick Actions, and Administrations of the Common-wealth: for if any one looks on the Administrations of *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, of *Cimon* and *Pericles*, of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, good Gods! what

Confusion,

Careless of
his Estate.

The Friends-
ship of Pe-
lopidas
and Epami-
nondas.

Confusion, what Envy, what mutual Jealousie appears? And then if he casts an eye on the Kindness and Reverence that *Pelopidas* shew'd *Epaminondas*, he must needs confess, that these are more truly and more justly styl'd Companions in Government and Command than the others, who strove rather to overcome one another, than their Enemies. But the true cause of this was their Vertue; upon whose account they did not make their Actions aim at Wealth and Glory, which troublesome and contentious Envy necessarily attends, but both from the beginning being inflam'd with a divine desire of seeing their Countrey glorious by their Endeavours, they us'd to that end one anothers Excellencies as their own. Many indeed think, this strict and entire Friendship is to be dated from the Battel at *Mantineia*; where they both fought being part of those Succors that were sent from *Thebes* to the *Lacedæmonians*, their then Friends and Allies; for being plac'd together amongst the Infantry, and engaging the *Arcadians*, when the *Lacedæmonian* Wing, in which they fought, gave Ground, and many fled, they joyn'd one another, and resisted the Invaders. *Pelopidas* having receiv'd seven Wounds in the fore-part of his Body, fell upon an heap of slain Friends and Enemies; but *Epaminondas*,

X 2

though

though he thought him past recovery, advanc'd to defend his Arms and Body, and singly fought a Multitude, resolving rather to die than forsake his helpless *Pelopidas*. And now he being much distress'd, wounded in the Breast by a Spear, in the Arm by a Sword, *Agésilus*, the King of the *Spartans*, came to his Succour from the other Wing, and beyond hope, deliver'd both. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* pretending themselves Friends to *Thebes*, but in truth having an eye on the Designs and Power of the City, and chiefly hating the Combination of *Ismenius* and *Androclides*, in which *Pelopidas* also was an Associate, as tending to Liberty, and Advancement of the People, *Archias*, *Leontidas*, and *Philip*, all rich Men, and of *Oligarchical* Principles, and immoderately ambitious, persuaded *Phæbidas* the *Spartan* to surprize the *Cadmea* with a considerable Force, and banishing the contrary Faction, establish an *Oligarchy*, and by that means make the City obnoxious to the Power of the *Spartans*. He accepting of the Motion, and at the Festival of *Ceres* unexpectedly falling on the *Thebans*, made himself Master of the Castle: *Ismenius* was taken, carry'd to *Sparta*, and in a short time murth'rd; but *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and many more that fled, were publickly proclaim'd Outlaws.

Phæbidas
surprizes
the *Cadmea*.

Epami

Epaminondas stay'd at home, being not much look'd after, as one whom Philosophy had made unactive in Affairs, and Poverty unable to pursue a Design. the *Lacedæmonians* cashier'd *Phæbidas*, and fin'd him 100000 Drachmas, yet still kept a Garrison in the *Cadmea*, which made all *Greece* wonder at the Inconsistency of their Actions, since they punish'd the Doer, but approv'd the Deed. Now though the *Thebans*, having lost their Polity, and being enslav'd by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, had no Hopes to get free from this Tyranny, which they saw supported by the *Spartan* Commonwealth, and no means to break the Yoke, but such as was sufficient to beat them from the Command of Sea and Land, yet *Leontidas* and his Associates understanding that the Exiles liv'd at *Athens*, were gracious with the People, and honour'd by all the good and vertuous, they form'd secret Designs against their Lives, and dispatching some unknown Fellows, they snapp'd *Androclides*, but were not successful on the rest; besides, Letters were sent from *Sparta* to *Athens*, warning them neither to receive, nor cherish the Exiles, but expel them as declar'd common Enemies by their Allies. But the *Athenians*, besides their natural Inclination to be kind, to make a grateful return to the *Thebans*, (who had very much assisted

Y 3

them

Pelopidas
excites the
Exiles to
free their
Country.

them in restoring their Democracy, and publickly enacted, that if any *Athenian* would march arm'd through *Boetia* against the Tyrants, that no *Beotian* should either see or hear it) did the *Thebans* no harm. Now *Pelopidas*, though one of the youngest, privately excited each single Exile, and often told them at their Meetings, that 'twas both dishonourable and impious to neglect their enslav'd and ingarish'd Country, and lazily contented with their own Lives and Safety, depend on the Decrees of the *Athenians*, and for fear fawn on every smooth-tongu'd Orator, that is able to work upon the People: no, they must venture for this great Prize, taking *Thrasylbulus* his Bold Courage for Example, that as he advanc'd from *Thebes*, and brake the Power of the *Athenian* Tyrants, so they should march from *Athens*, and free *Thebes*. When by this method he had perswaded them, they privately dispatch'd some Persons to those Friends they had left at *Thebes*, and acquainted them with their Designs. They applauded the Contrivance, and *Charon*, a Man of the greatest Quality, offer'd his House for their Reception: *Philidas* had contriv'd to get himself Secretary to *Archias* and *Philip*, who were then Captains of the *Militia*; and *Epaminondas* had already inflam'd the Youth, for in their Exercises

he

he advis'd them to challenge and wrestle with the *Spartans*, and when he saw them puff'd up with Victory and Success, he sharply told them, 'twas the greater shame to be such Cowards, as to serve those whom in Strength they so much excell'd. But the day for Action being set, it was agreed upon by the Exiles, that *Pherenicus* with the rest should stay at *Thriacium*, and some few of the younger Men try the first Danger, by endeavouring to get into the City, and if they were surpriz'd by their Enemies, the others should take care to provide for their Children and Parents. *Pelopidas* first undertook the Business, then *Melon*, *Damocles*, and *Theopompus*; Men of noble Families, and in other things loving and faithful to one another, but constant Rivals in Glory, and courageous Exploits. They were twelve in all, and having taken leave of those that stay'd behind, and sent a Messenger to *Charon*, they went forward, clad in short Coats, and carrying Hounds and hunting Poles with them, that they might be taken for Hunters bearing o're the Fields, and prevent all suspicion in those that met them on the way. Now when the Messenger came to *Charon*, and told him they were approaching, he did not change his Resolution at the sight of Danger, but being a Man of his word, offer'd them his

He goes to
Thebes.

Y 4

House.

The Plot at-
most rain'd.

House. But one *Hipposthenides*, a Man of no ill Principles, and a Lover of his Countrey, and a Friend to the Exiles; but not of as much Resolution, as the shortness of Time, and the quality of the Action requir'd, as it were dizzy'd at the greatness of the approaching Enterprize, and not able to comprehend, how relying on that weak Assistance which could be expected from the Exiles, they should be strong enough to shake the *Spartan* Government, and free themselves from that Power, went privately to his House, and sent a Friend to *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, desiring them to forbear for the present, but return to *Athens*, and expect a better opportunity. The Messenger's Name was *Clidon*, who going home presently, and bringing out his Horse, ask'd for the Bridle; but his Wife being at a Stand, and when it could not be found, telling him she had lent it to a Friend, first they began to chide, then curse one another, and his Wife wish'd the Journey might prove ill to him, and those that sent him; insomuch that *Clidon's* passion made him spend most of the day in these Brawls, and then looking on this Chance as an Omen, he laid aside all thoughts of his Journey, and heeded other Business: so near had these great and glorious Designs, even in their very Birth, lost their opportunity. But
Pelopidas

Pelopidas and his Companions dressing themselves like Clowns, divided, and whilst it was yet day, entered at several Quarters of the City; besides it was a stormy day, and it began to snow, which contributed much to their Concealment, because most of the Citizens kept within doors to avoid the Weather; but those that were concern'd in the Design, receiv'd them as they came, and presently conducted them to *Charon's* House, and together with the Exiles made up forty eight in number. Now the Tyrants Affairs stood thus: Secretary *Philidas* (as I have already observ'd) was an Accomplice in, and privy to all the Contrivance of the Exiles, and he a while before had invited *Archias* with others to an Entertainment on that day, to drink freely, and accompany some married Whores, on purpose that when they were drunk, and softned with Pleasures, he might deliver them over to the Rage of the Conspirators. But before *Archias* was thoroughly heated, notice was given him that the Exiles were privately in Town; a true Report indeed, but obscure, and not well confirm'd: nevertheless though *Philidas* endeavoured to divert the Discourse, *Archias* sent one of his Guard to *Charon*, and commanded him presently to attend. Now it was Evening, and *Pelopidas*, and his

*Archias in-
form'd that
the Exiles
were come.*

his Friends with him in the House; were putting themselves into a fit posture for Action, having their Armour on already, and their Swords girt: but at the sudden knocking at the door, one stepping forth to enquire the Matter, and learning from the Serjeant that *Charon* was sent for by the Officers, in great confusion he return'd, and acquainted those within; and this made all presently conjecture, that the whole Plot was discover'd, and they should be cut in pieces, before any Action worthy Men of their Bravery was perform'd; yet all agreed that *Charon* should obey, and attend the Officers, to prevent Suspicion. Now tho' *Charon* was a Man of Courage and Resolution in all Dangers, yet in this Case he was extremely concern'd, lest any should suspect that he was the Traytor, and the Death of so many and so brave Citizens be laid on him. And therefore when he was ready to depart, he brought his Son out of the Womens Apartment, a little Boy as yet but very pretty, and stronger than his Equals, and deliver'd him to *Pelopidas* with these words: *If you find me a Traytor, use that Boy as an Enemy, and be cruel in the Execution.* This Concernment and Affection of *Charon* drew Tears from many: but all were extremely troubled, that any one of them should be thought so mean spirited, and

*Charon's
bravery.*

and grown so base, at the appearance of approaching danger, as to suspect or blame him; and therefore desir'd him not to involve his Son, but set him out of harms way, that so escaping the Tyrants Power, he might live to revenge his City, and his Friends. But he refus'd to remove him, and said, *What Life, what Safety can be more honourable, than to die bravely with his Father, and such generous Companions?* Thus imploring the Protection of the Gods, and saluting and encouraging them all, he departed, considering with himself, and composing his Voice and Countenance, that he might look like one not at all concern'd in the Design. When he was come to the Door, *Archias* with *Philidas* came out to him, and said, *I have heard, Charon, that there are some come to Town, and lurk here, and to whose Cabal some of the Citizens resort.* *Charon* was at first disturb'd, but presently return'd, *who are they? and who conceals them?* But finding *Archias* did not thoroughly understand the Matter, he conjectur'd, that none that was privy to the Design, had made this Discovery, and therefore told them, *Perhaps 'tis an empty Rumour that disturbs you, yet however I'll examine, for no Report in such a Case is to be neglected.* *Philidas* that stood by, commended him, and leading back *Archias*, drank him to a pitch, still

still prolonging the Entertainment with the hopes of the Womens Company at last. But when *Charon* was return'd, and found the Men prepar'd, not as if they hop'd for Safety and Success, but to die bravely, and with the Slaughter of their Enemies, he told *Pelopidas* the truth, but deceiv'd the rest, pretending that *Archias* discours'd him about other Matters. This Storm was just blown over, when Fortune brought another; for a Messenger came with a Letter from one *Archias*, the Pontifick of *Athens*, to his Name-sake *Archias*, who was his Friend and Guest; this Letter was not fill'd with an idle and feign'd Suspicion, but as appear'd afterwards, discover'd each particular of the Design. The Messenger being brought in to *Archias*, who was now pretty well drunk, and delivering the Letter, said to him, *He that sent this, desires you to read it presently, for it contains Matters of Concern*; but *Archias* smilingly return'd, *Matters of Concern to morrow*: and so receiving the Letter, he put it under his Pillow, and then fell to his ordinary Discourse with *Philidas*; and these words of his are a Proverb to this day amongst the *Greeks*. Now when the Opportunity seem'd convenient for Action, they march'd out in two Companies; *Pelopidas* and *Damocles* with their Party went against *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, that

A Letter
sent to *Archias*
concerning the
Design.

liv'd near together; *Charon* and *Melon* against *Archias* and *Philip*, having put on Womens Apparel upon their Armour, and thick Garlands of Fir and Pine to shade their Faces; and therefore as soon as they came to the Door, the Guests clapp'd and gave an Huzza, thinking those had been the Women they expected. But when the Conspirators had look'd about the Room, and diligently view'd all that were at the Entertainment, they drew their Swords, and making at *Archias* and *Philip* over the Table, presently discover'd what they were: *Philidas* perswaded some few of his Guests to sit still, and those that stirr'd, and endeavour'd to assist their Officers, being all drunk, were easily dispatch'd. But *Pelopidas* and his Party met with a harder Task; for they attempted *Leontidas*, a sober and stout Man, and when they came to his house, they found his Doors shut, he being already gone to Bed: they knock'd a long time before any one would answer, but at last a Servant that heard them, coming out, and unbarring the Door, as soon as the Gate gave way, they rush'd in, and over-turning the Man, made all haste to *Leontidas* his Chamber. But *Leontidas* guessing at the Matter by the noise and running, leap'd from his Bed, and drew his Dagger, but forgot to put out the Lights, and by that means

Archias
and *Philip*
kill'd.

make

make them fall foul on one another in the dark. But now being easily seen by reason of the Light, he received them at his Chamber-door, and stabb'd *Chephifidorus*, the first Man that entered: he falling, the next that he engag'd was *Pelopidas*; between whom, the Passage being narrow, and *Chephifidorus* his Carcass lying in the way, there was a fierce and dangerous dispute. But at last *Pelopidas* prevail'd, and having kill'd *Leontidas*, he and his Companions went in pursuit of *Hypates*, and after the same manner broke into his House; but he perceiving the Design, and flying to his Neighbours, they closely follow'd, and caught and kill'd him. This done, they joyn'd *Melon*, and sent to hasten the Exiles they had left in *Attica*: they proclaim'd Liberty to the Citizens, and taking down the Spoils from the Porches, and breaking open all the Shops of Armoury that wear near; they arm'd those that came to their Assistance. *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* came in provided with a gallant Train of young Men, and best of the old. Now the City was in a strange Confusion, a great noise and hurry, Lights set up in every House, Men running here and there; yet the People did not gather into a Body, but all amaz'd at the Actions, and not clearly understanding the Matter, waited for the Day. And there-
fore

Pelopidas
kills *Leon-*
tidas and
Hypates.

fore the *Spartan* Officers are to be blam'd for not falling on presently, since their Garrison consisted of about 1500 Men, and many of the Citizens ran to them; but terrify'd with the noise, the Fires, and the confus'd Running of the People, they kept quietly within the *Cadmea*. As soon as day appear'd, the Exiles from *Attica* came in arm'd, and there was a general Assembly of the People: *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* brought forth *Pelopidas* and his Party, incompass'd by the Priests, who held out their Garlands, and exhorted the People to fight for their Countrey and their Gods. The Assembly excited at this Appearance, with Shouts and Acclamations receiv'd the Men as their Deliverers and Benefactors. Then *Pelopidas* being chosen Governour of *Beotia*, together with *Melon* and *Charon*, presently block'd up the Castle, and storm'd it on all sides, being extremely desirous to beat out the *Lacedæmonians*, and free the *Cadmea*, before an Army could come from *Sparta* to their Relief; and he was so quick, that they surrendring upon Articles, met *Cleombrotus* at *Megara* marching towards *Thebes* with a considerable Force. The *Spartans* condemn'd and executed *Hermippides* and *Acissus*, two of their Governours at *Thebes*, and *Duscoridas* the third being severely fin'd, fled to *Peloponnesus*. This Action being so like that
of

Pelopidas
regains the
Cadmea.

of *Thrasylbulus*, in the Courage of the Actor, the Danger, the Encounters, and equally crown'd with Success, is call'd its Sister by the *Greeks*; for we can scarce find any others, who being few and weak, by their bold Courage overcame their more numerous and more powerful Enemies, and brought greater Blessings to their Country. But the following change of Affairs made this Action the more famous; for that War which brake the *Spartan's* Power, and for ever ruin'd their Pretensions to command, proceeded from that night, in which *Pelopidas* not surprizing any Castle, Garrison, or Town, but coming the twelfth Man to his own private House, loos'd and broke (if we may speak Truth in Metaphor) the Chains of the *Spartan* Government, which before seem'd Adamant, and indissoluble.

The Athenians refused to assist Thebes.

Now when the *Lacedæmonians* invaded *Beotia* with a great Army, the *Athenians* frighted at the Danger, declar'd themselves no Allies to *Thebes*, and prosecuting those that stood for the *Beotian* Interest, some they executed, some they banish'd, and find some: and thus the Affairs of *Thebes*, having no Allies for their Support, seem'd in a desperate condition. But *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* being Governours of *Beotia*, and designing to breed a Quarrel between the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, made this Contrivance:

vance: One *Sphodrias*, a Man famous indeed for Martial Exploits, but of no sound Judgement, full of ungrounded Hopes and foolish Ambition, was left with an Army at *Thespia*, to receive and succour the *Theban* Renegades. *Pelopidas* privately sent a Merchant, a Friend of his, to carry him Money, and what prov'd more prevalent, advice, that it more became a Man of his Worth, to set upon some great Enterprize; and making a sudden Incurfion on the unprovided *Athenians*, surprize the *Pireum*; for nothing could be so grateful to *Sparta*, as to take *Athens*, and to be sure, the *Thebans* would not stir to their Assistance, whom they now hated, and look'd upon as Traytors. *Sphodrias* being at last wrought upon, with his Army march'd into *Attica* by Night, and advanc'd as far as *Eleufina*; but there his Souldiers Hearts failing, and his Design discover'd, when by this Action he had engag'd the *Spartans* in a dangerous War, he retreated to *Thespia*: for upon this the *Athenians* very readily sent Supplies to *Thebes*, and putting to Sea themselves, sail'd to many Places, and receiv'd and engag'd those who were willing to revolt. Now the *Thebans* singly having many Skirmishes with the *Spartans*, and fighting some Battels, not great indeed, but fit to train them up, and instruct them, their

Sphodrias, the *Spartan* designs against the *Athenians*

The *Thebans* prevail'd against the *Spartans*.

their Minds were rais'd, and their Bodies inur'd to Labour, and they got both Experience and Courage by these frequent Encounters: insomuch that 'tis reported *Antacides* the Spartan said to *Agefilaus* returning wounded from *Beotia*, *Indeed, Sir, the Thebans have given you a very fair Reward, for instructing them in the Art of War against their Wills*: but in truth, *Agefilaus* was not their Master in this, but those that did prudently and opportunely, as Men do young Mastiffs, set them on their Enemies, and then cherish them after they had tasted the Sweets of Victory and Resolution. Of all those Leaders, *Pelopidas* deserves the most Honour; for after they had once chosen him General, he was every year in Command as long as he liv'd; either Captain of the sacred Band, or, what was most frequent, Governour of *Beotia*. About *Platea* and *Thespia* the Spartans were routed and fled, and *Phebidas*, that surpriz'd the *Cadmea*, slain; and at *Tenagra* they worsted a considerable Force, and kill'd the Leader *Panthoides*. But these Encounters, though they rais'd the Victors Spirits, did not quite dishearten the Unfortunate; for there was no set Battel, or regular Fighting, but Incurfions on Advantage, Charges and Pursuits, and thus they fought and got the better. But the Battel at *Tegura*, which seem'd a Prelu-

dium

dium to *Leuctra*, won *Pelopidas* a great Reputation; for none of the other Commanders could pretend an hand in the Design, nor the Enemies a shew of Victory: for the City of the *Orchomenians* siding with the Spartans, and receiving two Companies for their Guard, he kept a constant Eye upon them, and watch'd his Opportunity. Now when he heard that the Garifon drew off to *Locris*, hoping to find *Orchomenum* defenceless, he march'd with his sacred Band, and some few Horse-men; but when he approach'd the City, and found that a reinforcement of that Garifon was on its March from *Sparta*, he fetch'd a Compass round the foot of the Mountains, and retreated with his little Army through *Tegura*, that being the only way he could march; for the River *Melas*, almost as soon as it rises, spreads its self into Marshes and navigable Pools, and makes all the Plain unpassable: a little below the Marshes stands the Temple of *Apollo Tegureus*, now forsaken, nor was it famous long, but flourish'd till the *Medes* Wars, *Echecrates* being then Priest. Here they report that the God was born; the neighbouring Mountain is call'd *Delos*, and there the River *Melas* comes again into a Channel; behind the Temple rise two Springs, admirable for the sweetness, abundance, and coolness of the Streams; one they call *Phoenix*, the other *Elaea*, as if *Lu-*

L. 2

cina

Pelopidas
beats the
Spartans
at *Tenagra*.

cina had not been deliver'd between two Trees, but Fountains: besides there is a Place hard by call'd *Ptoom*, where they say she was affrighted by the appearance of a Boar; and all the Stories of the *Python*, *Tyrius*, and the like, these Places apply to the Birth of the God. I omit a thousand other Conjectures, for our Tradition doth not rank this God amongst those that were born, and so made immortal, as *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, whom their Vertue rais'd above a mortal and passible condition; but he is one of the eternal, if we may gather any certainty concerning these things, from the Discourses of the oldest and wisest in these Matters. Now the *Thebans* retreating from *Orchomenum* towards *Tegura*, the *Spartans* at the same time marching from *Locris*, met them, and as soon as they had pass'd the Straits, and came in view of one another, and one told *Pelopidas*, *We are fallen into our Enemies hands*, he reply'd, *And why not they into ours as well?* and presently commanded his Horse to advance from the Rear, and charge, and he himself drew his Infantry, being three hundred in number, into a close Body, hoping by that means, whatsoever way he press'd, he should make the greater Slaughter on his more numerous Enemies. The *Spartans* had two Divisions, (each consisted; as *Ephorus* re-

ports,

ports, of five hundred; *Calisthenes* says seven hundred; others, as *Pollybius*, nine hundred) and their Leaders, *Gorgoleon* and *Theopompus*, confident of success, press'd upon the *Thebans*. The Charge being made against the Leaders of both Divisions with much Fury and Bravery, the *Spartan* Captains that engag'd *Pelopidas*, were first kill'd, and then their Companies being most wounded or slain, the whole Army was disheartened, and a Lane opened for the *Thebans*, as if they desired to pass through and escape. But when *Pelopidas* entred, and turning against those that stood their ground, still went on with a bloody Slaughter, there began an open Flight amongst the *Spartans*. They pursu'd but a little way, because they fear'd the neighbouring *Orchomenians*, and the Reinforcement from *Lacedæmon*, but they press'd on to a full Victory, and a total Rout of the flying Army; then erecting a Trophy, and spoiling the slain, they return'd home

The Spar-
tans Cou-
rage.

extreamly rais'd with the Success: for in all the great Wars manag'd against the *Greeks* or the *Barbarians*, the *Spartans* were never before beaten by a smaller Company than their own, nay, nor when their Number was equal; and thus their Courage seem'd irresistible, their Fame wounded their Enemies before the Battle, and made them afraid to venture

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an Engagement, though on equal terms. But this Battel first taught the other *Greeks* that not only *Eurotas*, or the Countrey between *Bubace* and *Cnacion*, breeds Men of Courage and Resolution; but where-ever the Youth is asham'd of Baseness, and would venture in a good Cause; where-ever they fly Disgrace more than Danger, there are the stoutest Men, then the most dreadful to their Enemies. *Gorgidas* (as some report) first form'd the sacred Band of three hundred chosen Men, to whom being a Guard for the Castle, the City allow'd Provision, and all things necessary for Exercise: and hence they were call'd the City Bands, for Castles of old were usually call'd Cities. Others say, that it was compos'd of Lovers and their Belov'd; and there goes a merry Saying of *Pammenes*, that *Homer's Nestor* was not well skill'd in ordering an Army, when he advis'd the *Greeks* to rank Tribe and Tribe, and Family and Family together: he should have joyn'd Lovers and their Belov'd, for Men of the same Tribe or Family, little value one another when Dangers press; but a Band cemented by Friendship grounded upon Love, is never to be Broken; and invincible, since the Lovers, asham'd to be base in sight of their Belov'd, and the Belov'd before their Lovers, willingly rush into Danger for the Relief of one another:

The sacred
Band of
Lovers.

and

and Reason good, since they have more Regard for their absent Lovers than others present; an Instance of which that Man gave, who, when his Enemy was ready to kill him, earnestly requested to run him through the Breast, that his Lover might not blush to see him wounded in the Back. 'Tis reported likewise, that *Iolaus*, being the Lover of *Hercules*, assisted him in his Labours: and *Aristotle* observes, that even in his Time, the Lovers plighted their Faith at *Iolaus* his Tomb. 'Tis likely therefore this Band was call'd sacred on this account; as *Plato* calls a Lover, a divine Friend; and *Fame* says, that it was never beaten till the Battel at *Cheronæa*: and when *Philip* after the Fight took a view of the slain, and came to that Place where the three hundred that fought his Phalanx, lay dead together, he wondred, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he wept, and said, *Let them be damn'd, who suspect that these Men either did or suffer'd any thing that was base.* Indeed it was not the Disaster of *Laius*, as the Poets imagine, that first rais'd these Lovers amongst the *Thebans*, but their Law-givers, who designing to soften, whilst they were young, their natural Fierceness, brought the Pipe into great Esteem both in serious and ludicrous Concerns, and encourag'd an excellent Love

Z 4

in

in their Paleſtra's, to temper the Manners of the Youth: and therefore they did very well to make Harmony, the Daughter of Mars and Venus their Tutelar, becauſe where Force and Courage is joyn'd with Gracefulneſs, and winning Behaviour, the moſt admirable and beſt contriv'd Government is fram'd. All things being then Harmoniouſly diſpos'd, *Gorgias* dividing this ſacred Band into the Front Ranks of his Infantry, their Courage ſeem'd not ſo conſpicuous; for not being order'd in one Body, they were weakned, by being mingled with others of leſſer Reſolution. But *Pelopidas* having ſufficiently tryed their Bravery at *Tegura*, and that they kept their Ground, and fought well, he never afterwards divided them, but keeping them entire, as one Body, he gave the firſt Charge in the greateſt Battels: for as Horſes run briskeſt in a Chariot than ſingle, not that their joyn't Force divides the Air with greater eaſe, but becauſe they run together, and their Emulation raiſeth their Courage; thus he thought, ſtout Men provoking one another to commendable Actions, would prove more uſeful, and more reſolv'd, in an Enterprize where they were all concern'd. Now when the *Lacedæmonians* had made Peace with the other *Greeks*, and warr'd upon the *Thebans* only, and their King *Cleombrotus* march'd with 10000

Foot

Foot and 1000 Horſe, and not only Slavery, as heretofore, but total Deſtruction threatned, and *Beotia* was in a greater fear than ever, *Pelopidas* going out of his own Houſe, and his Wife bringing him on his way, and with tears begging him to be careful of his Life, he reply'd, *Wife, Private Men ſhould be advis'd to look to themſelves, Generals to ſave others.* And when he came to the Camp, and found the Generals diſagreeing, he firſt joyn'd with *Epaminondas*, who advis'd to fight the Enemy; he was not then *Archon*, but Captain of the ſacred Band, and a Man in Truſt, as 'twas fit he ſhould be, who had given his Countrey ſo great proof of his ſincere Endeavours for their Freedom. Well then, when a Battel was agree'd on, and they ſa'd the *Spartans* at *Leuctra*, *Pelopidas* ſaw a Viſion, which very much diſcompos'd him: for in that Plain lye the Bodies of the Daughters of one *Scedafus*, call'd from the Place, *Leuctridæ*, for there they were bury'd, having been raviſh'd by ſome *Spartan* Strangers. When this baſe and impious Deed was done, and their Father could get no Satisfaction at *Lacedæmon*, with bitter imprecations on the *Spartans*, he kill'd himſelf at his Daughter's Tombs: and from that time the Propheſies and Oracles ſtill warn'd them to have a great Care of the Gods Revenge at *Leuctra*; but many did not underſtand the meaning, being uncertain

Pelopidas
his Saying.

Pelopidas
his Viſion.

of

of the Place, because there was a little maritime Town of *Laconia* call'd *Leuctron*, and near *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia* a Place of the same Name; and the Villany was committed long before this Battel. Now *Pelopidas* being asleep in the Camp, thought he saw the Maidens weeping about their Tombs, and cursing the *Spartans*, and *Scedafus* commanding, if they desir'd the Victory, to sacrifice a red Virgin to his Daughters. *Pelopidas* looking on this as an harsh and impious Injunction, rose, and told it to the Prophet, and Commanders of the Army, some of which contended, that 'twas fit to obey, and brought for Examples from the Ancients, *Menecus*, the Son of *Creon*; *Macaria*, the Daughter of *Hercules*: and from latter Times, *Pherecydes*, the Philosopher, slain by the *Lacedæmonians*, and his Skin, as the Oracles advis'd, still kept by their Kings: that *Leonidas*, warn'd by the Oracle, did as it were sacrifice himself for the Good of *Greece*: that *Themistocles* offer'd some to *Bacchus Omestes*, before the Engagement at *Salamis*, and that the Success shew'd their Actions to be good. On the contrary, *Agésilas* going from the same Place, and against the same Enemies that *Agamemnon* did, and being commanded in a Dream at *Aulis* to sacrifice his Daughter, he being too fond, deny'd it, and therefore his Expedition

Of Men-
Sacrifices.

pedition was unsuccessful and inglorious. But some on the other side urg'd, that such a barbarous and impious Oblation could not be pleasing to any of those above: that Typhons and Giants did not preside over the World, but the Father of the Gods and Men: that 'twas absurd to imagine, any Dæmons delighted in Slaughter and Sacrifices of Men; or if there were any such, they were to be neglected, as weak and unable to assist; for unreasonable and impious Desires could only proceed from, and live in weak and deprav'd Minds. The Commanders thus disputing, and *Pelopidas* being in a great Perplexity, a Mare-Colt breaking from the Herd, ran through the Camp, and when she came to the place where they were, stood still; and whilst some admir'd the sparkling Redness of her Colour, others her Mettle, or the strength and fury of her Neighing, *Theocritus* the Augur having consider'd the Matter, cry'd out to *Pelopidas*, *Happy Man! look, the Sacrifice is come, expect no other Virgin, but use that which the Gods have sent thee*: with that they took the Colt, and leading her to the Maidens Sepulchers, with the usual Solemnity and Prayers, offer'd her with joy, and then told the whole Army *Pelopidas* his Dream, and how they had given the requir'd Sacrifice. Now in the Battel

Epaminandos

The Battel
at Leuctra.

Epaminondas bending his Phalanx to the left, that, as much as possible, he might divide the right Wing, compos'd of *Spartans*, from the other *Greeks*, and distress *Cleombrotus*, by a brisk Charge on that Wing, the Enemies perceiv'd the Design, and began to change their Order, to open their right Wing, and far exceeding him in Number, encompass'd *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* came briskly up before *Cleombrotus* could open, and close his Divisions, and so fell upon the disorder'd *Spartans*; tho' the *Lacedæmonians* are the most expert and cunning in the Art of War, and are train'd up, and accusom'd to nothing more, than to keep themselves from Confusion, when their Order is disturb'd; but to follow any Leader, or Right hand Man, and order themselves, and fight on what part soever Dangers press, in this Battel *Epaminondas* his Phalanx neglecting the other *Greeks*, and charging them alone, and *Pelopidas* coming up with such incredible speed and fury, so brake their Courage, and baffled their Art, that there began such a Flight and Slaughter amongst the *Spartans*, as was never before known: and so *Pelopidas* being neither Archon nor General, but only a Captain of a small Band, got as much Reputation by the Victory, as *Epaminondas* who was both General and Archon. The two Archons march'd into *Peloponnesus*, and recover'd many Places from the *Spartans*;

The Spar-
tans very
expert.

Elis, *Argos*, all *Arcadia*, and much of *Laconia* it self. Now it was the dead of Winter, and but few days remain'd of the last declining Month, and in the beginning of the next new Governours were to succeed, and whoever refus'd to deliver up his Charge, forfeited his Head: therefore the other Archons fearing the Law, and to avoid the sharpness of the Winter, advis'd a Retreat. But *Pelopidas* joyn'd with *Epaminondas*, and encouraging his Citizens, led them against *Sparta*, and passing the *Euratas*, took many of their Towns, and wasted their Countrey as far as the Sea. This Army consisted of 70000 *Greeks*, of which number the *Thebans* could not make the 12th part; but the Reputation of the Men made all their Allies contented to follow them as Leaders, tho' no Articles had been made; for it seems the first and chiefest Law, That he that wants a Defender, is naturally a Subject to him that is able to defend: as Mariners, tho' in a Calm or in the Port they grow insolent, and brave the Pilot, yet when a Storm comes, and Danger is at hand, they all attend, and put their Hopes in him; so the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Arcadians*, in their Consults, would contend with the *Thebans* for Superiority in the Army, yet in a Battel. or any hazardous Undertaking, they willingly follow'd their Captains. In this Expedition they united all

all *Arcadia* into one Body, and destroying the *Spartans* that inhabited *Messenia*, they call'd back the old *Messenians* and gave them *Ithone* to possess, and returning through *Cenchrea*, they dispers'd the *Athenians*, who design'd to set upon them in the Streights, and hinder their March. For these Exploits, all the other *Greeks* lov'd their Courage, and admir'd their Success; but their Citizens Envy still increasing with their Glory, provided for them no pleasing nor agreeable Reception: for both were try'd for their Lives, because they did not deliver up their Command in the first Month (*Bucation*) as the Law requir'd, but kept it four Months longer, in which time they did all those memorable Actions in *Messenia*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*: *Pelopidas* was first try'd, and therefore in greatest danger, but both were freed. *Epaminondas* bore the Accusation and Tryal very patiently, esteeming it a great piece of Courage and Generosity, not to resent the Injuries of his Citizens; but *Pelopidas* being a Man of a fiercer Temper, and stirr'd on by his Friends to revenge the Affront, took this occasion: *Meneclides* the Orator was one of those that caball'd with *Melon* and *Pelopidas* at *Charon's* House; but not receiving a suitable Reward, and being powerful in his Speech, but loose in his Manners, and ill-natur'd, he abus'd his natural

Pelopidas
try'd for his
Life.

natural Endowments, even after this Tryal, to accuse and calurnniate his Betters. He put by *Epaminondas* from the *Archonship*, and a long time kept the upper hand of him: but he was not powerful enough to bring *Pelopidas* out of the Peoples Favour, and therefore endeavour'd to raise a Quarrel between him and *Charon*: and since 'tis some Comfort to the Envious, to make those Men whom themselves cannot excel, to appear worse than others, he studiously enlarg'd upon *Charon's* Actions in his Speeches to the People, he made Panegyricks on his Expeditions and Victories; and of that Victory which the Horsemen won at *Platea*, before the Battel at *Leuctra*, under *Charon's* Command, he endeavour'd to make this sacred Memorial: *Androclides*, a *Cyzicenean*, undertaking to paint another Battel for the City wrought at *Thebes*; but when the Revolt began, and the War came on the *Thebans* kept the Picture that was then almost finish'd: this Picture *Meneclides* perswaded them to dedicate, and subscribe *Charon's* Name, designing by that means to obscure the Glory of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. Now this was an absurd Ambition, to prefer a single Victory, where only one *Gerandias*, an obscure Fellow, and 40 more were slain, before so great and noble Encounters. This Motion *Pelopidas* oppos'd, as *Pelopidas* contrary *generous*.

contrary to Law, alledging that it was not the Custom of the *Thebans* to honour any single Man, but attribute the Victory to their Countrey; yet in all the Contest, he extremely Commended *Charon*, and shew'd *Menacrides* to be a troublesom and envious Fellow, earnestly asking the *Thebans*, if they had done nothing that was excellent: infomuch that *Menacrides* was severely fin'd, which he being not able to pay, endeavour'd afterwards to disturb the Government; and these things give us some light into *Pelopidas* his Life. Now when *Alexander*, the *Pherean* Tyrant, made open War against some of the *Thessalians*, and had Designs against all, the Cities sent an Embassy to *Thebes*, to desire Succours and a General; *Pelopidas* knowing that *Epaminondas* was detain'd by the *Peloponnesian* affairs, offer'd himself to lead the *Thessalians*, being unwilling to let his Courage and Skill lye idle, and thinking it unfit that they should be destitute of a Leader, till *Epaminondas* could be ready. When he came into *Thessalia* with his Army, he presently took *Larissa*, and endeavour'd to reclaim *Alexander*, who submitted, and bring him from being a Tyrant, to govern gently, and according to Law; but finding him untractable and brutish, *Pelopidas* began to be severe, and us'd him roughly, infomuch that the Tyrant stole away privately

Pelopidas
assists the
Thessalians against
Alexander.

exactly with his Guard. But *Pelopidas* leaving the *Thessalians* fearless of the Tyrant, and Friends amongst themselves, march'd into *Macedonia*, for *Ptolomy* then warr'd with *Alexander*, the King of *Macedon*, and both sent for him to hear and determine their Differences, and assist him that appear'd injur'd. When he came, he reconcil'd them, call'd back the Exiles, and receiving for Hostages, *Philip*, the King's Brother, and 300 Children of the Nobles, he brought them to *Thebes*, shewing the other *Greeks*, how much the *Thebans* had gain'd by the Reputation of their Honesty and Courage. This was that *Philip*, which afterward endeavour'd to enslave the *Greeks*: then he was a Boy, and liv'd with one *Ammines*; and hence some conjecture, that he took *Epaminondas* his Actions for the Rule of his own; perhaps indeed he observ'd his Conduct, and Excellence in the Art of War, which was but a small portion of that Man's virtue; but of his Temperance, Justice, Generosity and Mildness, in which he was truly great, *Philip* enjoy'd no share, either by Nature or Imitation. After this, upon a second Complaint of the *Thessalians* against *Alexander* the *Pherean*, as a Disturber of the Cities, *Pelopidas* was joyn'd with *Ismenius*, an Embassy to him; he led no Forces from *Thebes*, not expecting any War, and therefore was necessitated to make use of the

Settles *Macedon*.

of *Philip*
of *Macedon*.

A a

Thessali-

Theſſalians in thoſe urgent Affairs. At the ſame time alſo *Macedon* was in confuſion again, for *Ptolomy* had murder'd the King, and ſeiz'd the Government: but the King's Friends ſent for *Pelopidas*, and he being willing to be meddling in the Matter, but having no Souldiers of his own, liſted ſome Mercenaries in the Country, and with thoſe march'd againſt *Ptolomy*. Now when they fac'd one another, *Ptolomy* corrupted theſe Mercenaries with a ſum of Money, and perſwaded them to revolt to him; but yet fearing the very Name and Reputation of *Pelopidas*, he came to him as his Superior, ſubmitted, begg'd his Pardon, and proteſted that he kept the Government only for the Brothers of the dead King, and would prove a Friend to the Friends, and an Enemy to the Enemies of *Thebes*; and to confirm this, he gave his Son *Philoxenus*, and 50 of his Companions for Hoſtages. Theſe *Pelopidas* ſent to *Thebes*; but he himſelf being vex'd at the Treachery of the Mercenaries, and underſtanding that moſt of their Goods, their Wives, and Children, lay at *Pharſalus*, (ſo that if he could take them, the Injury would be ſufficiently reveng'd) he got together ſome of the *Theſſalians*, and march'd to *Pharſalus*. When he was juſt entred the City, *Alexander* the Tyrant appear'd before it with an Army; but *Pelopidas* and his Friends thinking that he came to purge himſelf from thoſe

Pelopidas
goes to
Pharſalus.

theſe Crimes that were laid to his charge, went to him, and tho' they knew very well that he was profligate and cruel, yet they imagin'd that the Authority of *Thebes*, and their own Dignity and Reputation, would ſecure them from Violence. But the Tyrant ſeeing them come unarm'd, and alone, ſeiz'd them, and made himſelf Maſter of *Pharſalus*. Upon this, his Subjects were extreamly afraid, that after ſo great and ſo bold an Injury, he would ſpare none, but behave himſelf toward all, and in all Matters, as one juſt deſpairing of his Life. The *Thebans*, when they underſtood this, were very much enrag'd, and diſpatch'd an Army, *Epaminondas* being then in Diſgrace, under the Command of other Leaders. Now when the Tyrant brought *Pelopidas* to *Phera*, at firſt he permitted thoſe that deſir'd it, to ſpeak with him, imagining that this Diſaſter would break his Spirit, and make him appear contemptible. But when *Pelopidas* addreſs'd the complaining *Phereans* to be comforted, as if the Tyrant in a ſhort time would ſmart for his Injuries, and ſent to tell them, That 'twas abſurd, daily to torment and murder his wretched innocent Subjects, and yet ſpare him, whom, he well knew, if ever he got his Liberty, would be bitterly reveng'd; the Tyrant wondring at his Bravery, reply'd, And why is *Pelopidas* in haſte to die? And he

Pelopidas
taken by *Alexander*.

Pelopidas
his Bravery
in Priſon.

hearing of it, return'd, *That thou mightest be the sooner ruin'd, being then more hated by the Gods than now.* From that time he forbade any to discourse him; but *Thebe*, the Daughter of *Jason*, and Wife to *Alexander*, understanding from the Keepers, the Bravery and generous Carriage of *Pelopidas*, had a great desire to see and speak with him. Now when she came into the Prison, and, as a Woman, could not presently perceive his Greatness in his Calamity, but guessing by the meanness of his Attire and Provision, that he was us'd basely and not befitting a Man of his Reputation, she wept. *Pelopidas* at first not knowing who she was, stood amaz'd; but when he understood her Quality, he saluted her by her Father's Name, for *Jason* and he had been Friends and Familiars; and she saying, *I pity your Wife, Sir;* he reply'd, *And I you, that being not in Chains, can endure Alexander.* This touch'd the Woman, for she already hated *Alexander* for his Cruelty and Injustice, for his other Debaucheries, and for abusing her younger Brother to his Lust; and therefore going often to *Pelopidas*, and speaking freely of the Indignities she suffer'd, she grew more enrag'd, and more exasperated against *Alexander*. The *Theban* Generals that were sent into *Theffaly* did nothing, but being both unskilful and unfortunate, made a dishonourable Retreat, for which the City find

fin'd each of them 10000 Drachma's, and sent *Epaminondas* with their Forces. The *Theffalians* rais'd with the Fame of this General, presently began to stir, and the Tyrants Affairs sank into a very dangerous condition, so great was the fear that possess'd his Captains, and his Friends, so eager the desire of his Subjects to revolt; so much they rejoyc'd at *Alexanders* approaching Ruine, which they so passionately expected. But *Epaminondas* being more solicitous for the Safety of *Pelopidas* than his own Glory, and fearing that if things came to Extremity, *Alexander* would grow desperate, and like a wild Beast, turn and worry him, did not vigorously prosecute the War: but hovering still over him with his Army, he so handled the Tyrant, as not to make him despair, nor exasperate his Fury; for he understood his Savageness, and the little Value he had for Right and Just; in so much that sometimes he buried Men alive, sometimes he dress'd them in Bears and Boars Skins, and then baited them with Dogs, or shot at them for his Divertisement. At *Melibeia* and *Scotusa*, two Cities, his Allies, he call'd all the Inhabitants to an Assembly, and then surrounded them, and cut them to pieces with his Guards. He consecrated the Spear with which he kill'd his Uncle *Polyphron*, and crowning it with Garlands, sacrific'd to it as a God, and

Alexander's Savageness

call'd it *Tychon*. And once seeing a *Tragedian* act *Euripides* his *Troades*, he went out of the Theatre, but sending for the Actor, bad him not to be concern'd at his Departure, but go on with the Play, for 'twas not in Contempt of him that he departed, but he was asham'd that his Citizens should see him, who never pity'd any Man that he murder'd, weep at the Sufferings of *Hecuba* and *Andromache*. This Tyrant, startled at the very Name, Glory and Appearance of an Expedition under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, presently sent an Embassy to entreat and offer Satisfaction; but *Epaminondas* refus'd to admit such a Man for an Ally to the *Thebans*, but granted him a Truce of 30 days, and *Pelopidas* and *Ismenius* being deliver'd, he return'd. Now the *Thebans* understanding that the *Spartans* and *Athenians* had sent an Embassy to the *Persian* for Assistance, they likewise sent *Pelopidas*; an excellent Design to encrease his Glory, no Man of so great Fame and Reputation, having ever before entered the Dominions of the King: for the Glory that he won against the *Spartans*, did not creep slowly or obscurely, but after the Fame of the first Battel at *Leuctra* was gone abroad, the Report of some new Victories continually following, exceedingly encreas'd and far and near spread his Reputation. When he came to the Nobles and Cap-

Pelopidas set free.

Pelopidas goes Ambassador to Persia.

tains

cains that waited at the King's Palace, he was the Object of their Wonder and Discourse; *This is the Man*, said they, *who hath beaten the Lacedæmonians from their Principality of Sea and Land, and confin'd Sparta within Geta and Eurotas, which but a little before, under the Conduct of Agesilaus fought the great King about Susa and Ecbatana.* This pleas'd *Artaxerxes*, and he increas'd *Pelopidas* his Reputation and Honours, being desirous to seem reverenc'd, and sought to by the greatest. But when he saw him, and heard his Discourse, more solid than the *Athenians*, and not so haughty as the *Spartans*, his Love was heightened, and truly acting like a King, he conceal'd not the Respect that he had for him: and this the other Ambassadors perceiv'd, tho' he seem'd to have done *Antaclidas*, the *Spartan*, the greatest Honour, by sending him that Garland dipp'd in Oyntment, which he himself had worn at an Entertainment. Indeed he did not deal so wantonly with *Pelopidas*, but according to the Custom, gave him the most splendid and considerable Presents, and granted him his Desires; that the *Grecians* should be free; *Messena* inhabited; and the *Thebans* accounted the King's ancient Friends: with these Answers, but not accepting one of the Presents, except what was a Pledge of Kindness and Goodwill, he return'd. This Behaviour of *Pelopidas*.

Is honour'd by Artaxerxes.

das ruin'd the other Ambassadors: The *Athenians* condemn'd and executed their *Timagoras*, and indeed if they did it for receiving so many Presents from the King, their Sentence was just and good; for he not only took Gold and Silver, but a rich Bed, and Slaves to make it, as if the *Greeks* were unskilful in that Art; besides 80 Kine and Herdsmen, as if he needed Cows Milk for some Distemper; and lastly, he was carry'd in a Chair to the Sea-side, and 4 Talents given to the Chairmen by the King. But the *Athenians* were not so much concern'd at his greediness for the Presents, (for one *Epicrates* a Scullion, did not only confess to the People, that he had receiv'd Gifts from the King. but made a Motion, that instead of 9 Governours, they should yearly chuse nine poor Citizens to be sent Ambassadors to the King, and enrich'd by his Presents, and the People only laugh'd at the Motion) but were vex'd that the *Thebans* obtain'd their Desires, never considering, that *Pelopidas* his Fame was more powerful than all their *Rhetorical Discourse*, with a Man who still inclin'd to the most victorious; and this Embassy having obtain'd the Restitution of *Messena*, & the Freedom of the other *Greeks*, got *Pelopidas* a great deal of Love at his Return. At this time *Alexander* the *Pherean* falling back to his old Nature and having seiz'd many of the *Thessalians* and put Garrisons upon the *Pthiotæ*, *Achaian*

Pelopidas
goes against
Alexander

and *Magnesian*, the Cities hearing that *Pelopidas* was return'd, sent an Embassy to *Thebes*, requesting Succours, and him for their Leader. The *Thebans* willingly granted their desire; and now when all things were prepar'd, and the General beginning to march, the Sun was eclips'd, and darkness spread o're the City at Noon-day. Now when *Pelopidas* saw them startled at the Prodigy, he did not think it fit to force them on who were afraid, and out of heart, nor to hazard 7000 of his Citizens; and therefore only with 300 Horse Voluntiers, he set forward to *Thessaly*, much against the will of the *Augurs* & his Citizens, who all imagin'd this considerable Accident to portend somewhat to this great Man. But he was fierce against *Alexander* for the Injuries he receiv'd, and hop'd likewise by the Discourse which formerly he had with *Thebe*, that his Family by this time was divided, and out of order. But the Glory of the Expedition chiefly excited him; for he was extreemly desirous at this time, when the *Lacedæmonians* assisted *Dionysius*, the *Sicilian* Tyrant, and the *Athenians* took *Alexander's* Pay, and honour'd him with a brazen Statue as a Benefactor, to show the other *Greeks*, that the *Thebans* alone undertook their Cause, who were oppress'd by Tyrants, and destroy'd the violent and Illegal Forms of Government in *Greece*. When *Pelopidas* was come to *Pharsalus*, he form'd an Army, and presently march'd against *Alexander*; and

Alexander

Alexander understanding that *Pelopidas* had few *Thebans* with him, and that his Infantry was double the number of the *Thessalians*, fac'd him at *Thetidium*: and when one told *Pelopidas*, *The Tyrant meets us with a great Army*; So much the better, he reply'd, for then we shall overcome the more. Between the two Armies lay some steep high Hills about *Cyncephale*, which both Parties endeavour'd to take by their Footmen. *Pelopidas* commanded his Horse, which were good and many, to charge the Enemies, and those they routed, and pursu'd through the Plain. But *Alexander* took the Hills, and charging the *Thessalian* Footmen that came up later, and strove to climb the steep and craggy Ascent, kill'd the foremost, and the others much distress'd, could do the Enemies no harm. *Pelopidas* observing this, founded a Retreat to his Horse, and gave Orders, that they should charge the Enemies that kept their ground; and he himself taking a Shield in his hand, quickly joyn'd those that fought about the Hills, and advancing to the Front, fill'd his Men with such Courage and Alacrity, that the Enemies imagin'd they came with other Spirits and other Bodies to the Onset. They stood 2 or 3 Charges, but finding they came on briskly, and the Horse returning from the pursuit, they gave ground, and retreated in order. But *Pelopidas* perceiving from a rising ground, that the Enemies Army

was

was not yet routed, tho' full of Disorder and Confusion, he stood, and look'd about for *Alexander*; and when he saw him in the right wing, encouraging and ordering his Mercenaries, he could not moderate his Anger, but inflam'd at the sight, and blindly and heedlessly following his Passion, he advanc'd far before his Souldiers, crying out, and challenging the Tyrant: he did not dare to receive him, but retreating, hid himself amongst his Guard. The foremost of the Mercenaries that came hand to hand, were cut down by *Pelopidas*, and many kill'd, but many at a distance shot through his Armour and wounded him, till the *Thessalians* deeply concern'd at the Matter, ran down from the Hill to his Relief. Now when he was slain, the Horse came up, and routed the Phalanx, and following the pursuit a great way, fill'd the whole Country with the slain, which were above 3000. 'Tis no wonder, that the *Thebans* then present, were very much griev'd for the Death of *Pelopidas*, calling him their Father, Deliverer, and Instructor, in all that was good and commendable. But the *Thessalians* and the Allies, exceeding by their publick Edicts, all the just Honours that could be given to Courage, by their Concernment gave more certain demonstrations of the Kindness they had for him; for 'tis reported, that none of the Souldiers when they heard of his Death, would put off their Armour, unbridle their Horses,

Pelopidas
slain.

The Battel.

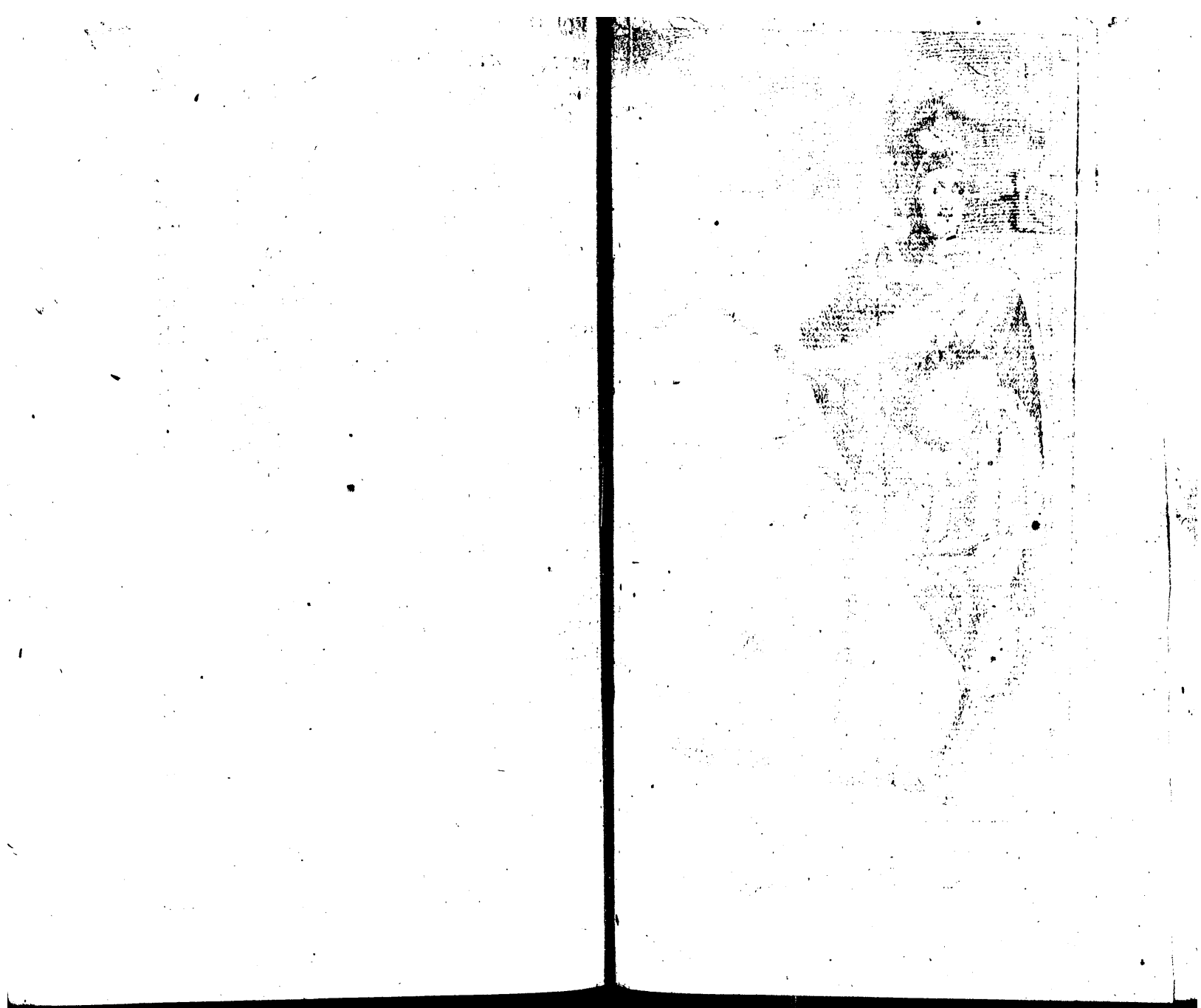
Horses, or dress their Wounds, but still hot and with their Arms on, ran to his Carcass, as if he had been yet alive; they heap'd up Spoils about his Body; cut off their Horses Mains, and their own Hair, and many kindled no Fire in their Tents, took no Supper, and Silence and Sadness was spread o're all the Army, as if they had not gotten the greatest and most victorious Victory, but were overcome by the Tyrant, and enslav'd. As soon as this was nois'd about the Cities, the Magistrates, Youth, Children, & Priests came out to meet the Body, and brought Trophies, Crowns, and Suits of golden Armour: and when he was to be interr'd, the Elders of the *Theffalians* came and begg'd the *Thebans*, that they might give the Funeral; and one of them said, *Friends, we ask a favour of you, that will prove both an Honour and Comfort to us in this our great Misfortune; for the Theffalians shall never again wait on the living Pelopidas, never give Honours, of which he can be sensible, but if we may have his Body, adorn his Funeral, and interr him, we shall certainly show th at we esteem his Death a greater loss to the Theffalians than the Thebans: you have lost only an expert General, we a General and our Liberty, for how shall we desire from you another Captain, since we cannot restore Pelopidas?* The *Thebans* granted their Request, and there was never a more splendid Funeral in their opinion, who do not think the Glory of such Solemnities consists

sists only in Gold, Ivory and Purple; as *Phili-* who extravagantly celebrates the Funeral of *Dionysius*, where his Tyranny concluded like the pompous Exit of some great Tragedy. *Alexander*, at the Death of *Hephesti-*, did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and his Mules, but took down the Battlements from the City-Walls, that even the Towns might seem Mourners, and instead of their former beauteous Appearance, look bald at his Funeral. But these things being commanded and forc'd from the Mourners, attended with the Envy of those that enjoy'd them, and hatred of those that compell'd them, were no Testimonies of Love and Honour, but of the barbarous Pride, Luxury, and Insolence of those, who lavish'd their Wealth in these vain and inimitable Fancies. But that a Man of common Rank, dying in a strange Countrey, neither his Wife, Children, nor Kinsmen present, none either desiring or compelling it, should be attended, buried, and crown'd by so many Cities, that strove to exceed one another in the Demonstrations of their Love, seems to be the height of Happiness: for (as *Aesop* observes) the Death of the happy Men is not the most grievous, but most blessed, since it secures their Felicity, and puts it out of Fortunes Power. And that *Spartan* advis'd well, who embracing *Diagoras*, who had himself been crown'd in the *Olympian* Games, and saw his Sons and Grandchildren Victors,

Victors, said, Dye Diagoras, for thou canst not be a God: and yet who would compare all the Victories in the *Pythian* and *Olympian* Games with one of those Enterprizes of *Pelopidas*, of which he successfully perform'd many, and having spent his Life in brave and glorious Actions, he dy'd fighting for the Liberty of the *Theffalians*? His Death, as it brought Grief, so likewise Profit to the Allies; for the *Thebans* as soon as they heard of his fall, delay'd not their Revenge, but presently sent 7000 Foot, and 700 Horse, under the Command of *Malcitus* and *Diogiton*: and they finding *Alexander* weak, and without Forces, compell'd him to restore the Cities he had taken; to draw his Garrisons from the *Magnetians*, *Phthoræ*, and *Achaians*, & swear to assist the *Thebans* against whatsoever Enemies they should require. This contented the *Thebans*, but Punishment follow'd the Tyrant for his wickedness, and the Death of *Pelopidas* was reveng'd in this manner: *Pelopidas* (as I have already mention'd) taught his Wife *Thebe*, not to be afraid of the outward Bravery and Guard of the Tyrant, since she was within his Arms, & Slaves. Now she fear'd his Inconstancy, and hated his Cruelty, and therefore conspiring with her three Brothers, *Tisiphonus*, *Patholaus*, and *Lychophron*, dispatch'd him in this manner: All the other Apartments were full of the Tyrant's Night-Guards, but their Bed-Chamber

Alexander's death

was an upper Room, and before the Door lay a chain'd Dog to guard it, which would fly at all but the Tyrant, and his Wife, and one Servant that fed him: now when *Thebe* had a mind to kill him, she hid her Brothers all day in a Room hard by, and she going in alone, according to her usual custom, to *Alexander*, that was asleep already, in a little time came out again, and commanded the Servant to lead away the Dog, for the Tyrant would take some rest; she cover'd the Stairs with Wooll, that the young Men might make no noise as they came up; and then bringing up her Brothers, and leaving them at the Chamber-door, she went in, and brought away the Tyrant's Sword that hung over his head, and shew'd it them, for a confirmation that he was fast asleep: now the young Men appearing fearful, and unwilling to do the Murder, she chid them, and angrily swore she would wake *Alexander*, and discover the Conspiracy; so with a Candle in her Hand, she conducted them in, being both asham'd and afraid, and brought them to the Bed, one of them caught him by the Feet, the other pull'd him backward by the Hair, and the third ran him through. The Death was more speedy than was fit, but in that he was the first Tyrant that was kill'd by the contrivance of his Wife, and his Carcass abus'd, thrown out, and trodden under foot by the *Phereans*, he seems to have suffer'd what his Villanies deserv'd. THE



THE
L I F E
O F

M. MARCELLUS.

Englished from the Original, by
Walter Charleton, Dr. of Physick,
and Fellow of the Royal College
of Physicians, *London*.

Volume II.



Marcellus.

They say, that MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times Consul of the Romans, was the Son of *Marcus*: and that he was the First of his Family called MARCELLUS, that is, *Martial*, *Postonius* affirms. For he was by long experience skilful in the art of War, of a strong body,

B b

body, valiant of his hands, and by natural inclination addicted to War. This great fierceness therefore, and heat he brought with him to battels: in other things modest, obliging, and so far studious of Greek and Learning Discipline, as to honour and admire those that were therein excellent; but he attained not to a proficiency in them equal to his desire, by reason of his employments. For if God ever destined any other men, as *Homer* saith,

*To be from their first years to their last day,
Viers'd in fierce War;*

he certainly destined the *Roman* Princes of that time. Who in their youth had War with the *Carthaginians*, in their middle age in *Sicily*, with the *Gauls* in the defence of *Italy* it self; at last, being now grown old, struggled again with *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*, and wanted in their old age, what is granted to the Vulgar, vacation from the toils of War; because they were according to their Nobility and Vertue, advanced to the management of Wars, and to Empire: And *Marcellus*, ignorant or unskilful of no kind of fighting, contending in single Combat upon a Challenge, overcame himself. Wherefore by whomsoever he was challenged, he declined not the provocation, and killed all

all by whom he was challenged. His Brother *Oracilius* circumvented in *Sicily*, he protected and saved, and slew the Enemies that press'd him; for which facts he was by the Generals, while he was yet but young, presented with Crowns and other honourable Rewards. But when his Vertue more and more shined forth, the people created him *Ædilis Curulis*; and the High-Priests, *Augur* (which is that Priesthood to which chiefly the Law assigns the procuration and observation of Auguries) In his *Ædility*, by a certain mischance he was brought to a necessity of commencing a Suit, and bringing an impeachment into the Senate. He had a Son named *Marcus*, both of excellent beauty in the flower of his Age, and of such sweet manners, and rare Erudition, that the Citizens admired him. This Youth, one *Capitolinus*, a lascivious and audacious man, *Marcellus* his Colleague, vehemently loved, and attempted. Whose temptation the Lad at first by himself rejected: but when the other again solicited him, he discover'd the thing to his Father. *Marcellus* highly offended with the indignity, accuses the man in the Senate. Who having appeal'd to the Tribunes of the people, endeavoured by various shifts, and various exceptions to elude the impeachment: and the Tribunes not receiving the appeal, by flat denial re-

jected the charge. But because there was no witness of the fact, *Capitolinus* having attempted the Youth privately and alone; therefore the Senate thought fit to call the Youth himself before them. Whose blushing, and tears, and bashfulness mix'd with highest indignation, when the Fathers observed, seeking no farther evidence of the Crime, they condemn *Capitolinus*, and set a fine upon him according to the estimation of the injury; of the money of which

* ἀπογοισίαν, mensam argentariam reddit interpres *Latinus*, verum rectius reddi potest, in usum eorum qui nummorum commutationem exercent in foro. Nam ἀπογοισίαν retributionem, permutationem, commercium, & pænis responsionem indicat.

multed, *Marcellus* caused to be made a Silver Table, * which he dedicated to the Gods. But after the end of the first *Punic* War, that lasted one and twenty years, the Seeds of the *Gallic* tumults sprang up, and began again to trouble *Rome*. The *Iberes*, a people inhabiting the Subalpine re-

gion of *Italy*, strong in their own forces, raised out of the rest of the *Gauls* aids of mercenary Soldiers, which are called *Gassatæ* [from the heavy Darts or Javelins used by them in Fights.] And it was a miracle, and the good fortune of *Rome*, that the *Gallic* War was not coincident with the *Punic*, but that they had with fidelity stood quiet as Spectators, while the *Punic* war continued, that they might with their whole power set upon the Conque-

rour;

rour; and deferr'd their invasion till the *Romans* were at leisure to resist them. Yet the Neighbourhood and ancient renown of the *Gauls* struck no little fear into the minds of the *Romans*, who were about to undertake a War so near home and upon their own borders. For that they fear'd more than any other Nation the *Gauls*, because they had once taken their City, is apparent. From which time it was by a special Law provided, that the High Priest should enjoy an exemption from all military Offices, except only in *Gallic* insurrections.

The great preparations made by the *Romans* for War (for it is not reported that the people of *Rome* ever had at one time so many Legions in Arms, either before or since) and their extraordinary Sacrifices, were plain arguments of their fear at that time. For though they were most averse from the Institutions and Rites of barbarous and cruel Nations, and above all had with the *Grecians* pious and reverent Sentiments of the Gods; yet when this year was coming upon them, they then, from some Prophecies in the *Sibyls* Books, put alive under ground a pair of *Greeks*, one male, the other female; and likewise two *Gauls*, one of each Sex, in the Market call'd the Beast-market: continuing even to this day the same secret and abominable Sacri-

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fices

fices of *Greeks* and *Gauls*, in the month of *November*. In the beginning of this War, when the *Romans* sometimes obtain'd remarkable Victories, sometimes were shamefully beaten; nothing was done toward the final determination of the Contest, until *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* being Consuls, brought mighty forces against the *Insubres*, a people of *Gallia* on the farther side of the River *Po*. Then they saw the River that runs through the Countrey of *Picenum*, flowing with blood. There was a report, that three Moons had been seen at once at *Ariminum*. And in the Consular Assembly, the Augurs declared, that the Consuls had been unduly created. The Senate therefore immediately sent Letters to the Camp, recalling the Consuls to *Rome* with all possible speed; and commanding them to desist from acting farther against the Enemies, and to abdicate themselves from the Consulship on the first opportunity. These Letters being brought to *Flaminius*, he defer'd to open them till having defeated and put to flight the Enemies forces, he wasted and ravaged their borders: Wherefore the people went not forth to meet him returning with huge spoils; nay, because he had not instantly obeyed the command in the Letters, by which he was recalled, but slighted and contemned them, they

wanted

wanted not much of denying him the honour of a Triumph. Nor was the Triumph sooner pass'd, than they deposed him with his Collegue from the Magistracy, and reduced them to the state of private Citizens. So much did all things at *Rome* depend upon Religion. Though the course of their Affairs were smooth and prosperous, yet if their Enterprizes met not with successes happy enough to answer their wishes; presently they gave out, that the Auspices and ancient Rites were neglected; thinking it to be of more importance to the Publick Safety, if the Magistrates revered the Gods, than if they overcame their Enemies. And so *Tiberius Sempronius*, whom for his probity and Vertue the Citizens highly esteem'd, created *Scipio Nasica* and *Caius Martius* Consuls, successors [to those that had been exauctored.] When these were gone into their Provinces, he lighted upon books concerning the Religion of the people, where he found somewhat he had not known before; which was this. When the Consul made his solemn Auspice, he sate without the City in a house, or Tabernacle hired for that occasion: but if it hapned that he, for any emergent cause, return'd into the City having not yet seen any certain signs; he was obliged to leave that first Tabernacle,

B b 4

nacle, and to seek another, out of which he might survey the Heaven round about, and finish his Contemplation. This having (as I conceive) deceiv'd *Tiberius*, who twice used one and the same Tabernacle; he renounced or protested against the Consuls, [as not legitimately and with due Ceremonies elected.] And afterwards understanding his errour, he referr'd the matter to the Senate: nor did the Senate neglect this minute fault, but soon wrote expressly of it to *Scipio Nasica* and *C. Martius*; who leaving their Provinces, and without delay returning to *Rome*, laid down their Magistracy. But these things followed afterward. At the same time the Priesthood was taken away from two men of very great honour, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Sulpitius*: from the former, because he had not rightly held forth the entrails of a Beast slain for Sacrifice; from the latter, because while he was immolating, the little woollen tuft, which the *Flamens* wear on the top of their Cap, had fallen from his head. *Minutius* the Dictator, who had named *C. Flaminius* Master of the Horse, they deposed from his Command, because the noise of a gnawing Rat was heard: and they put others into their places. And yet notwithstanding, by observing so anxiously these punctillios and little niceties, they stumbled not upon any Superstition,

Superstition, because they neither varied nor exceeded the Institutes of their Ancestors. So soon as *Flaminius* with his Colleague had resign'd up the Consulate, *M. Marcellus* is by the Regents or Viceroy's during the *interregnum* or vacancy, declar'd Consul; who entering into the Magistracy, chose *Cn. Cornelius* his Colleague. There was a report that the *Gauls* endeavouring a pacification, and the Senate also inclining to peace, yet still *Marcellus* inflamed the people to War. But notwithstanding a Peace was agreed upon, which the *Gesatæ* are said to have broken: who to the number of thirty thousand passing the Alps, stirr'd up the *Insulæ*, and conjoyn'd themselves with them; of whom there were far more Legions, and proud of their strength, they marched directly to *Acerræ*, a City seated on the bank of the River *Po*. From thence *Viridomarus*, * King of the *Gesatæ*, taking with him ten thousand Souldiers, harass'd the Country round about. Of which the news being brought to *Marcellus*, leaving his Colleague at *Acerræ* with the foot, and all the heavy Arms, with a third part of the Horse, and carrying with him the rest of the Horse, and six hundred light arm'd Foot, marching night and day without remission, he staid not till he came up to the Enemy near to a Village of *Gallia*, call'd *Clasfidium**, which not long before had

* Βασιλευς.

* Κασιδιον.

had been subjected to the *Roman* jurisdiction. Nor had he time to refresh his Souldiers, or to give them rest. For the *Barbarians* that were then present, immediately seeing his approach, contemn'd him, because he had very few foot with him. And the *Gallic* Horse being singularly skillful in Horsemanship, and therefore thought to be therein excellent; and at present in number also exceeding *Marcellus*; made no account of him. Instantly therefore they rush upon him, as if they would trample him under their Horses feet, threatening all kind of cruelties. Before their Ensigns rode the King. But *Marcellus* because his Men were few, that they might not be encompassed and charged on all sides by the Enemy, extended his wings of Horse, and riding about, made thinner and drew forth in length his wings of Foot, till he came near to the Enemy. Then, while he directed his Van-guard to charge the Enemy, his Horse, frightened by their yelling and shouts, gave back, and by force carried *Marcellus* aside. He fearing lest this accident, converted into an Omen, might discourage his Souldiers; quickly turning his Horse to the left, again confronted the Enemy, and adored the Sun, as if he had wheel'd about his Horse, not by chance, but out of Devotion. For it was customary to the *Romans*, when they adored

red the Gods, to turn themselves round in a circle. When they came up now to charge, 'tis reported he vowed the best of the Enemies Arms to *Jupiter Feretrius* or the Helper. Then the King of the *Gauls* beholding *Marcellus*, and from the signs or badges of his Authority, conjecturing him to be the General, advanced far before his embattled Army, and with a loud voice challenged him, and brandishing his Lance, fiercely ran with a full career at him; exceeding the rest of the *Gauls* in stature, and by reason of his Armour, that was adorned with gold and silver, and painted with various colours, shining like lightning. These Arms seeming to *Marcellus*, while he view'd the Enemies Army drawn up in Battalia, to be the best and fairest, and he thinking them to be those he had vowed to *Jupiter*; instantly ran upon the King, and pierced through his Breast-plate with his Launce; then pressing upon him with the weight of his Horse, threw him to the ground, and with two or three strokes more slew him. Immediately he leaped from his Horse, laid his hand upon the dead Kings Arms, and looking up toward Heaven, thus spake: "O *Jupiter Feretrius*, Arbiter of the remarkable Exploits of Captains, and of the acts of Emperours in War and Battels, "thou

" thou being witness, I a General have
 " slain a General, I a Consul have slain a
 " King with my own hand: to thee I con-
 " secrate these first and most excellent of the
 " Spoils. Give thou to us now proceeding
 " to dispatch the reliques of the War, the
 " same course of Fortune. Then the *Roman*
 Horse joyning Battel not onely with the E-
 nemies Horse, but also with the Battalion of
 Foot charging upon them; obtain'd a sin-
 gular, and even now a new and stupendous
 Victory. For never before or since have so
 few Horse and Foot defeated so numerous
 forces; at least no such atchievement is
 recorded in History. The Enemies being
 to a great number slain, and the Spoils col-
 lected, he returns to his Collegue: who ma-
 naging the War against the Enemies at the
 greatest and most populous City of *Gallia*
 (they call it *Millan*) had ill success. This
 City the *Gauls* on this side the Alps have for
 their Head City. Wherefore fighting vali-
 antly in defence of it, they were not so
 much besieg'd by *Cornelius*, as they besieg'd
 him. But *Marcellus* return'd and the *Gæsatae*,
 so soon as they were certified of the death
 of the King, and the defeat of his Army, re-
 tiring; *Milan* is taken. The rest of their
 Towns, and all they had, the *Gauls* deli-
 ver up of their own accord to the *Romans*.
 Peace upon conditions equitable enough

was

was granted to the *Gauls*. *Marcellus* alone
 by a decree of the Senate triumphed. The
 triumph was in magnificence, opulency,
 spoils, and the gigantic Bodies of the Cap-
 tives, exceeding noble and memorable. But
 the most grateful and most rare Spectacle of
 all was the General himself, who carried the
 Arms of the barbarous King to the God [to
 whom he had vowed them.] Of a tall and
 straight stock of an Oak lop'd off, he had
 prepared a bearer shaped like a Trophy.
 Upon this he bound, and hung round about
 the Arms of the King, fitly and decently
 trying on every piece of them. The pomp
 advancing solemnly before, he carrying this
 Trophy ascends the Chariot; and being him-
 self the fairest and most graceful triumphant
 Image, was carried into the City. The Ar-
 my adorned with shining Armour followed
 in order, and with Verses on that occasion
 composed, and with songs of Victory, ce-
 lebrated the praises of *Jupiter* and of their
 General. Then entering the Temple of
Jupiter Feretrius, he dedicated his gift:
 the third, and to our memory the last
 that ever did so. The first, *Romulus*, who
 having slain *Acron* King of the *Cæninenses*,
 brought home and dedicated rich
 spoils: the second, *Cornelius Cossus*, from
Volumnius the *Hetruscan*: after them *Mar-*
cellus, from *Viridomarus* King of the *Gauls*;
 after

after *Marcellus*, no man. The God to whom they are consecrated, is call'd *Jupiter Feretrius*, from the Trophy carried on *ferotrum*, [a bearer, on which spoils were carried in triumph] the name being deduced from the Greek Language, which at that time was every where confus'd with the Latin. Others affirm that this Surname of *Jupiter fulminans* is derived à *feriendo*, from striking; because Lightning strikes, and to strike, is in the Roman Language *ferire*. Others there are, who would have this name to be deduced from the *strokes* that are given in fight; for now also in all conflicts when they press upon their Enemies, they mutually encourage each other to *strike*. These Spoils are properly call'd *Opima*, i. e. magnific and ample; though in their Commentaries they say, that *Numa Pompilius* made mention of first, second, and third opime Spoils; and that he prescribes, that the first taken be consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second to *Mars*, the third to *Quirinus*; as also that the reward of the first be three hundred asses or half-pennies; of the second, two hundred: of the third, one hundred: but some hath obtain'd, that those Spoils only are honourable, which the General first takes in Battel, and takes from the Enemies chief Captain whom he hath slain with his own hand. But of these things enough.

This

This Victory and the ending of the War was so highly grateful to the people of *Rome*, that they sent to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, in testimony of their gratitude, a Present, a golden Cup of an hundred pound weight; and gave a great part of the prey to their associate Cities, and took care that many Presents should be carried also to *Hiero* King of the *Syracusans* their Friend and Allie. But at what time *Hannibal* made an irruption into *Italy*, *Marcellus* was dispatch'd with a Fleet into *Sicily*. Soon after, the Roman Army having suffer'd that sad defeat in the Battel of *Cannæ*, in which many thousands of them perished, when few had saved themselves by flying to *Cannussum*, and all fear'd lest *Hannibal*, who had destroy'd the strength of the Roman Army, should straight post with his Victorious Troops to *Rome*: *Marcellus* first sent for a guard of the City 1500 Souldiers, which were design'd for the Fleet. Then by decree of the Senate going to *Cannussum*, having heard that many of the Souldiers had come together in that place, he brought them out of the Fortifications to prevent the Enemies ravaging and depopulation of the Countrey. And the Princes and chief Noblemen of *Rome* had most of them fallen in Battels. But the Citizens complain'd, that the anxious care of *Fabius Maximus*, (who for his Faith and Prudence was of greatest authority)

authority) in bewaring lest the Commonwealth might sustain any detriment, was too slow for the management of Affairs, and full of fear. They thought him indeed stout and confided in him for providing for their safety: yet they held him not to be a Captain brisk and daring enough to repel the Enemy. Wherefore converting their thoughts upon *Marcellus*, and tempering and compounding his boldness, confidence, and promptitude with *Fabius's* caution and providence; they sent one while both with Consular command, otherwhile one as Consul, the other as Proconsul, against the Enemy. *Posidonius* writes, that *Fabius* was call'd the Buckler, *Marcellus* the Sword of Rome. Certainly *Hannibal* himself confessed that he feared *Fabius* as a Schoolmaster, *Marcellus* as an Adversary: the former, lest he should be hindred from doing mischief; the latter, lest he should receive harm. And when among *Hannibal's* Souldiers, proud of their late Victory, licentiousness and cruelty was grown to a great height; *Marcellus* setting upon them dispersed without their Camp, and loaden with prey and plunder gotten in the Countrey, cut them off, and by little and little diminished his Forces. Hence bringing aid to the *Neapolitans* and *Nolans*; he confirmed the minds of the former, of their own accord faithful enough to

to the Romans. But entering *Nola*, he there found discord: the Senate not being able to rule and keep in the common people, who were generally favourers of *Hannibal*. There was in the Town one *Bantius**, * *Bantius*. a man renown'd for Nobility and Virtue. This man, after he had fought most fiercely at *Cannæ*, killed many of the Enemies, and at last lying in a heap of dead bodies, covered with Darts, being found and brought to *Hannibal*; *Hannibal* so honoured him, that he not only dismissed him without ransom, but also contracted an entire friendship with him, and became his guest. In gratitude for this great favour, he became one of those that drew all things to *Hannibal's* interest, and being powerful in Riches, solicited the people to Sedition. *Marcellus* could not be induced to put this man to death, a man so eminent, and who had pass'd so great dangers in fighting on the Romans side: but knowing that himself was able, not only by singular humanity, but also by gentle and winning Speech to sweeten and endear men, and to gain upon even a proud mind; when *Bantius* came one day to salute him, he asked him who he was; not that he knew him not before, but seeking an entrance and occasion of conference. When *Bantius* had told who he was, *Marcellus* seeming surpriz'd with joy and

and wonder, replied; art thou that *Bantius* whom the *Romans* commend above the rest that fought at *Cannæ*, and praise as the person that did not onely not forsake the Consul *Paulus Æmilius*, but receive in his own body many Darts thrown at him? *Bantius* owning himself to be that very man, and shewing his Scars: why then, saith *Marcellus*, didst not thou, having so great marks of thy good affection toward us, come to me at my first arrival here? Dost thou think that we are unwilling to requite with favour those who have well deserved, and who are honoured even by our Enemies? Besides this obliging courtesie of Speech, embracing the young Gentleman, he gave him an excellent Horse, and five hundred *Bigates* [that is, pieces of money stamp'd with a Chariot drawn by two Horses.] From that time *Bantius* became a most faithful Assistant and Allie of *Marcellus*, and a most sharp Discoverer and Delator of those that attempted Innovation and Sedition. These were many, and had enter'd into a Conspiracy to plunder the Waggon and other Carriages of the *Romans* when they should make an eruption against the Enemy. Wherefore *Marcellus*, having marshal'd his Army within the City, placed the baggage near to the Gates, and by an Edict forbad the *Nolans* to go to the Walls. Without the City no Arms appear'd, by which

which prudent device he allured *Hannibal* to move with his Army in some disorder, to the City, thinking that there all things were full of tumult. Then *Marcellus*, the next Gate being, as he had commanded, thrown open, issuing forth with the flower of his Horse in front, fights with the Enemy. By and by the Foot sallying out of another Gate, with a loud shout ran up to them. And while *Hannibal* opposes to these part of his forces, the third Gate also is opened, out of which the rest break forth, and on all quarters charge the Enemies surprized with fear at this unexpected encounter, nor strongly enough resisting those with whom they had been first engaged, because of their attack by others that sallied later. Here it was that *Hannibal's* Souldiers with huge consternation and many wounds beaten back even to their Camp, first turned their backs to the *Romans* pursuing them. There fell in this Action, as it is related, of them more than five thousand; of the *Romans*, not above five hundred. *Livy* affirms, that neither the Victory, nor the slaughter of the Enemies, was so great: but certain it is, that the adventure brought great glory to *Marcellus*, and to the *Romans* mighty confidence after their Calamities; because they now conceived a strong hope, that the Enemy with whom they contended,

was not invincible, but obnoxious to Defeats. Therefore, the other Consul being deceas'd, the people recall absent *Marcellus*, that they might put him into his place, and in spite of the Magistrates obtained, that the Consular Assembly should be prorogued till his arrival; and that he was by all the Suffrages created Consul. But because it happen'd to thunder, the Augurs muttering that he was not legitimately created, and yet not daring, for fear of the people, to declare this their Sentence openly; *Marcellus* voluntarily resigned the Consulate, but declined not the Sovereign Command of the Army. So being created Proconsul, and returning to the Camp at *Nola*; he with fire and Sword wasted the fields of those that followed the Party of the *Carthaginian*. Who coming with speed to succour them, *Marcellus*, though provoked by *Hannibal*, declined fighting a set Battel with him. But when *Hannibal* had sent forth a Party to plunder, and now expected no Fight; *Marcellus* brake forth upon him with his incensed Army. He had distributed to the Foot long Lances, such as are commonly used in Naval fights; and instructed them to throw them with great force at convenient distance against the Enemies unexperienced in that way of Darting, and used to Fight with short Darts. Which seems to have been

been the cause why in that conflict the *Carthaginians*, as many as were engaged, turned their backs, and shamefully fled. There fell of them five thousand. Of Elephants four were killed, two taken. But what was of greatest moment, on the third day after more than three hundred Horse, *Spaniards* and *Numidians* mix'd, fled over to him, a disaster that had never to that Day hapned to *Hannibal*, who had long kept together in highest Concord a fierce Army gathered out of the sink and dregs of dissonant and disagreeing Nations. *Marcellus* and his Successors in all this War made good use of the faithful service of these Horsemen. Now he a third time created Consul sailed over into *Sicily*. For the success of *Hannibal* had excited the *Carthaginians* to lay claim to that whole Island; chiefly because after the murder of the Tyrant *Hieronimus*, all things had been in tumult and confusion at *Syracuse*. For which reason the *Romans* also had sent before to that City some Legions under the conduct of *Appius*, Prætor. While *Marcellus* was receiving that Army, the *Roman* Souldiers in great numbers cast themselves at his feet, upon occasion of this calamity. Of those that surviv'd the Battel at *Cannæ*, some had escaped by flight, some were taken alive by the Enemy, in so great a multitude, that it was thought there were

not remaining *Romans* enough to defend the walls of the City. And yet the magnanimity and constancy of the City was so great, that it would not redeem the Captives from *Hannibal*, though it might have done so for little ransom; nay by a decree of the Senate denied it, and chose rather to leave them to be kill'd by the Enemy, or sold out of *Italy*; and commanded that all who had saved themselves by flight, should be transported into *Sicily*, nor permitted to return into *Italy*, until the War with *Hannibal* should be ended. These therefore, when *Marcellus* was arriv'd in *Sicily*, address'd to him in great numbers: and casting themselves at his feet, with much lamentation and tears humbly besought him to admit them into the honourable Order of Souldiers, and promised to make it appear by their future fidelity and services, that that defeat had been received rather by some misfortune than by any cowardise of theirs. *Marcellus* pitying them, petitioned the Senate by Letters, that he might have leave at all times to recruit his Legions out of them. But after much debate about the thing, the Senate Decreed, They were of opinion, that the Commonwealth ought not to be committed to Cowardly Souldiers: if *Marcellus* perhaps thought otherwise, he might make use of them; provided no one of them be by the General honoured with a Crown or milita

ry Gift, as a reward of his Virtue or Courage. This Decree pinched *Marcellus*, who being return'd to *Rome*, after the *Sicilian* War was ended, smartly upbraided the Senate, that they had denied to him, who had so highly deserved of the Republick, Liberty to relieve so great a number of Citizens in great calamity. About the same time *Marcellus* first incensed by injuries done him by *Hippocrates* Prætor of *Syracuse* (who to give proof of his good affection to the *Carthaginians*, and to acquire the Tyranny to himself, had made a great slaughter of the *Romans* upon the borders of the *Leontins*) besieged and by force took the City of the *Leontins*: yet violated none of the Townsmen. Onely Deserters, as many as he took, underwent the punishment of the Rods and Ax. But *Hippocrates*, first sending a report to *Syracuse*, that *Marcellus* had put all the young men to the Sword; and then coming upon the *Syracusans* risen up into a tumult upon that false Report, surpriz'd the City. Hereupon *Marcellus* moved with his whole Army to *Syracuse*, and encamping near the Wall, sent Ambassadors into the City to relate to the *Syracusans* the truth of what had been done in *Leontium*. When these could not prevail by Treaty, the *Syracusans* being now no longer at their own will and pleasure, because the whole power was in the hands of *Hippocra-*

tes; the City began to be oppugned both by Land and by Sea. All the Foot; *Appius* brought up. *Marcellus* with LX. Gallies each with five Oars in a Seat, furnish'd with all sorts of Arms and Weapons to be thrown, and a huge Bridge of Planks laid upon eight Ships chain'd together, upon which he carried the Engin to cast stones and Darts, assaulted the Walls: animated with confidence by the abundance and magnificence of his preparations, and by his own glory. All which were easily eluded by *Archimedes* and his Machines. Of these he had design'd and contriv'd none as worth the pains and cost, but to divert and sport himself in the exercise of his skill in Geometry. A good while before King *Hiero* had courted and induced *Archimedes* to put into practice some part of his admirable speculations in this Art, to shew some example of the power of it, and to exhibit to the sense an experiment accommodated to use. For *Eudoxus* and *Archytas* had first begun to set on foot this celebrated and admired Machinal Science, by this elegancy illustrating Geometry and Propositions by demonstration, that may be explicated by reason and clear evidence; and confirming the more remote by examples of Organs or Instruments objected to Sense. As both of them brought to light that abstruse and by demonstration inexplicable Proposition of two middle lines

lines (an Element necessary to delineate many things) by contriving Instruments, by certain intermediate lines deflecting from Curve Lines and Sections. But as *Plato* being offended sharply inveighed against these eminent Geometricians, saying, that they corrupted and destroy'd the good of Geometry, which leaving those things that are free from body, and consist only in notion of the mind, was now converted to things obnoxious to sense, and forced to reassume bodies, where much of odious and sordid idleness would be required: So the *Mechanics* or Art of making Engines came to be rejected and separated from Geometry, and being despised by Philosophers, lay long hid among Arts military. But *Archimedes* wrote to King *Hiero*, whose near kinsman and friend he was, that by little force any weight how great soever might be moved. He boasted also, relying on the strength of Demonstration, that if there were another Earth, he going into it would remove this out of its place. *Hiero* struck with amazement at this, and intreating him to make good this Problem by some effect, and shew some great weight to be moved by a small Engine: he fix'd upon a Ship of burthen bought out of the Kings Arcenal, which could not be drawn out of the Dock without mighty labour and many men; and loading her with many Passengers and a full

full freight, sitting himself the while far off, with no great endeavour, but onely holding the head of the Pulley in his hand, and drawing the Cord by degrees, he drew the Ship in a streight line, without stop or sticking, nay swiftly sliding along, as if she had been in the Sea. The King astonish'd at this, and convinced of the power of the Art, prevail'd upon *Archimedes* to make for him Engines accomodate to all ways of assaulting an Enemy, by which he might either beat off danger, or Batter Cities. These the King himself never made use of, because he spent almost all his life in a profound quiet and highest affluence of fortune. But then this apparatus was in a most opportune time ready at hand for the *Syracusans*, and with it also the Engineer himself. When therefore the *Romans* assaulted the Walls in two places at once, fear and consternation so stupified the *Syracusans*, that nothing was able to resist that violence and those forces. But when *Archimedes* play'd his Engines, he at once shot against the Land-forces all sorts of missile Weapons, and huge stones with horrible noise and violence: against which no man could stand, but they knock'd down those in heaps, upon whom they fell, and brake their Ranks and Files. The arms of Main-sail Yards suddenly put forth from the Walls, [and catching hold of Ships] they sunk some

some by mighty weight let down from on high upon them; others they lifted up into the Air by an iron hand or beak like a Cranes beak, and when they had hung them up by the Prow, and set them an end upon the Poop, they plunged them to the bottom of the Sea; or else the Ships drawn by Engines within, and whirl'd about, were dash'd against steep Rocks, that stood jutting out under the Walls, with great destruction of the Souldiers that were aboard them. A Ship several times lifted up to a great height in the Air (a dreadful thing to behold) was rowl'd to and fro, and kept swinging, until the Marriners being thrown down and struck against the Wall, at length it was dash'd against the Rocks, or let fall. At the Engine that *Marcellus* brought upon the Bridge ('twas call'd *Sambuca* from some resemblance it had of an Instrument of Musick, [in respect chiefly of the many chords by which it was bent]) when it was from afar driven to the Wall, was discharg'd a piece of a Rock of ten Talents weight; then a second and a third, which striking upon it with mighty force and thundering noise shook the Basis of it, loosened the joints of the Engine, and tore it from the Bridge. So *Marcellus*, doubtful what counsel to pursue, drew off his Ships to a safer distance, and founded a retreat to his forces on Land. Then they took up

a resolution of coming up close under the Walls, if it were possible in the night, thinking that because *Archimedes* was necessitated to use Ropes stretch'd at length in playing his Engines, the Souldiers would be under the shot, and the Darts would, for want of sufficient distance to throw them, fly over their heads without effect. But he had long before framed for that purpose Engines accommodate to any distance, and shorter Weapons, but such that might be thrown thicker, to give many and frequent wounds at a blow. He had already provided also small Scorpions, not to be perceived by the eyes of the Enemies, by which they might be wounded near at hand. As they therefore, who thought then to deceive the Defendants, came close up to the Walls; instantly a shower of Darts and other missile Weapons was again cast upon them. And when stones tumbled down as it were perpendicularly upon the heads of the Assaultants, and Arrows from all parts of the Wall were shot at them; they retired. Of whom, as they were going off, by Arrows and Darts discharged at greater distance great slaughter was made, and their Ships knock'd one against another; while themselves were not able to offend their Enemies in the least. For *Archimedes* had provided and fix'd most of his

Engines under the Wall. Whence the *Romans*, seeing that a Sea of mischiefs overwhelmed them from a conceal'd source, thought they fought with the Gods. Yet *Marcellus* escaped unhurt, and deriding his own Artificers and Carpenters; *What*, saith he, *do we proceed to fight with this Geometrical Briareus, who sitting still hath shamefully eluded our Naval assault by Sea? Truly that at one time hath poured upon us so great a power of Weapons, excels those fabulous Giants with an hundred hands.* And doubtless the rest of the *Syracusans* were all but the body of *Archimedes's* apparatus, which one Soul moved and governed: for the Enemies, laying aside all other Arms, did with his alone both infect the *Romans*, and protect their own safety. In fine, when so great terrour had seiz'd upon the *Romans*, that if they had but seen a little Rope or a piece of wood from the Wall, instantly crying out that *Archimedes* was about to let fly some Engine at them, they turned their backs and fled: *Marcellus* desisted from the Conflicts and Assaults, putting all his hope in a long Siege. But *Archimedes* had so high a Spirit, so sublime a Wit, and such a treasure of Theorems Mathematical; that having now by those Engines of his Invention acquired to himself Renown, and the same of not human, but Divine Science, he

he could not condescend to leave any Commentary or Writings concerning them behind him: but repudiating as vile and foolish that industry in contriving Engines and the Art of Mechanicks, accommodating Mathematick knowledge to use and profitable practice, placed his whole study and delight only in those Speculations, which being noble and excellent in themselves, tied to any necessity, not indeed to be compared with others, but which may raise contest with matter for Demonstration, since that excels in bulk and shew, but in exquisite certainty and incredible power. For in Geometry you cannot find more intricate and intangled questions or hypotheses, written in more simple and clearer Elements. This some attribute to the dexterity of his Wit: others think it ought rather to be referr'd to his indefatigable labour, by which it is probable that he was able with ease and without sweat to effect any thing. For if you seek, you will not by your self find a demonstration of his Questions: but when you have once learned it, you will think that you might by your own Wit have found it; so plain and smooth is the way, by which he leads to what he intends to demonstrate. Wherefore those things are not to be rejected, which are reported of him; that he was perpetually soothed

soothed and charmed by a certain familiar *Siren*; so that he was wont to forget his food, and neglect the care of his body, and when he was now and then carried against his will to have his body Anointed and Bathed, he would draw Geometrical Figures in the ashes, and lines with his finger; so much was he taken with the sweetness of the Art, and his mind so raviſh'd with the intellectual delight of the Theorems thereof. And after he had found out many and excellent things, he is said to have begg'd of his friends, that they would after his death put upon his Sepulchre a *Cylindre comprehending a Sphere*, and inscribe the proportion, *how much a solid containing exceeds the contained*. And *Archimedes* being this great man [we have described] render'd himself, and, as much as lay in him, the City also invincible. While the Siege is prolonged, *Marcellus* takes by assault *Megara* the most ancient City of *Sicily*. He expugns also the Camp of *Hippocrates*, and coming upon them fortifying themselves, slew above eight thousand. He also runs through all *Sicily*: At which time he reduced many Towns from the *Carthaginians*, and overcame all that dared to encounter him. During the Siege, one *Damasippus* * a *Lacedæmonian* * *Δαμιππος* putting to Sea in a Ship from *Syracuse*, was taken by *Marcellus*. When the *Syracusans* much

much desired to redeem this man, and there were many meetings and Treaties about the matter betwixt them and *Marcellus*; he takes exact notice of a Tower that might receive Souldiers into it secretly, by reason that the Wall near to it was not difficult to be passed over, and he observed it to be neglected. Coming often thither, and entertaining Conferences [with the Commissioners about the Redemption of *Danius*] the height of the Tower was exactly calculated, and Ladders prepared. The *Syracusans* celebrated a Feast to *Diana*. This juncture of time, when they were given up entirely to Wine and Sport, *Marcellus* laid hold of, and before the Citizens perceiv'd it, not onely possessed himself of the Tower, but before the break of day filled the Wall round with Souldiers, and brake open the *Hexaphylum* [or place with six Gates.] The *Syracusans* now beginning to stir, and trembling at the Tumult, and the sound of the Trumpets, so soon as they heard it; he frighted them all into flight, and vehemently amazed them, thinking that all places of the City were already won. But the most fortified and the fairest, and most ample part remained still ungained. It is call'd *Arcadina*, because it was by a Wall divided from the outward City, one part of which they call

Neapolis,

Neapolis, [or the new City] the other *Tycha* [or Fortune.] These being possess'd, *Marcellus*, about break of day, entred from the *Hexaphylum* into the City, all his Præfects congratulating him. Who looking down from higher places upon the most beautiful and very great City below, is said to have wept much, commiserating the calamity that hung over it, when his thoughts represented to him, how dismal and foul the face of the City would in a few hours be, when plunder'd and sack'd by the Souldiers. For among the Præfects [or chief Officers of his Army] there was not one man that durst deny the plunder of the City to the Souldiers demanding it; nay, many were instant that the City might be set on fire and laid level to the ground. But this *Marcellus* plainly denied. Yet he granted, but with great unwillingness and reluctancy, that the money and bond-men should be made prey. And he sent forth an Edict, that none should violate any free body, nor kill any Citizen, nor ravish or drag any into servitude. Though he had used this moderation, yet he esteemed the condition of that City to be miserable, and even in so great a congratulation of his friends for the Victory, expressed grief of mind and sorrow, beholding all the riches accumulated during a long felicity, now

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disipated

dissipated in a moment of an hour. For it is related that no less of prey and plunder was taken here, than afterward in *Carthage*. For not long after, they furiously plunder'd also the other parts of the City, taken by treachery, leaving nothing untouched but the Kings money, which was brought into the publick Treasury. Of all these doleful events nothing afflicted *Marcellus* his generous Soul so much as the death of *Archimedes*. Who was [then as Fate would have it] with his mind intent upon some Diagramms or Geometrical figures: and having fix'd not onely his mind upon that Speculation, but his eyes also upon the lines he was drawing, perceiv'd not the hurry of the *Romans*, nor that the City was taken. In this transport of study and Contemplation, a Souldier unexpectedly coming up to him, commanded him to follow him to *Marcellus*: which he declining to do before he had finish'd his Probleme or Proposition, and fitted it to demonstration, the Souldier, enraged with anger, drew his Sword, and ran him through. Others write, that a *Roman* Souldier running upon him with a drawn Sword offer'd to kill him; and that *Archimedes*, looking back, earnestly besought him to hold his hand a little while, that he might not leave what he was then searching for, imperfect and rude; but the Souldier

Souldier, nothing moved by his intreaty, instantly kill'd him. Others again relate, that as *Archimedes* was carrying to *Marcellus* Mathematical Instruments, Horologes, or Dialls, Sphears, Angles, by which the magnitude of the Sun might be measured to the sight; some Souldiers seeing him, and thinking that he carried Gold in a Vessel, slew him. Fer certain it is, that his death was highly afflicting to *Marcellus*, and that *Marcellus* ever after hated him that kill'd him as a nefarious Murtherer, and having sought for his kindred honoured them with signal favours. Indeed foreign Nations held the *Romans* to be excellent Souldiers and formidable in fights; but since they had given no memorable example of gentleness, or humanity, or civility, *Marcellus* seems first to have shewn to the *Grecians* that the *Romans* were more illustrious for their justice. For such was his moderation to all with whom he had any thing to do, and such his benignity also to many Cities and private Men; that if any thing too hard or severe was decreed concerning the *Ætnefians*, or *Megarensians*, or *Syracusans*, the blame thereof seems to belong rather to them upon whom the storm fell, than to those who brought it upon them. One example of many I will commemorate. In *Sicily* there is a Town, called *Enguium*, not great indeed:

indeed; but very ancient and ennobled by the presence of the Goddesses call'd the *Mothers*. The Temple, they say, was built by the *Cretians*; and they shew some Spears and brazen Helmets, partly of *Merion*, partly of *Ulysses*, who consecrated them to the Goddesses. This City highly favouring the party of the *Carthaginians*, *Nicias* the most eminent of the Citizens counselled them to make a defection to the *Romans*; to that end acting most freely, and openly in Harangues to their Assemblies, arguing the Adversaries guilty of imprudence and madness. They fearing his wealth, power, and authority, resolv'd to deliver him in bonds to the *Carthaginians*. This their design when he had smelt out, and knew it to be kept secret: he spake irreverently to the vulgar of the *Mothers*, and shewed many signs of disrespect, as if he denied and contemned the receiv'd Opinion of the presence of those Goddesses; his Enemies the while rejoicing, that he of his own accord sought the destruction hanging over his head. When they were just now about to lay hands upon him, the people were assembled together to hear him haranguing. Here *Nicias* making a Speech to the people concerning some Affair then under deliberation in the midst of his Speech cast himself upon the ground, and soon after, while amazement

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(as usually it happens on such surprizing occasions) held the Assembly immoveable, raising and turning his head round, he began in a trembling and deep Tone, but by degrees sharpen'd his Voice. When he saw the whole Theatre struck with horror and silence, throwing off his Mantle, and rending his Tunick, he leaps up half naked, and runs towards the Door, crying out aloud that he was driven by the Furies of the revenging *Mothers*. When no man durst, out of religious fear, lay hands upon him, or stop him, but all gave way to him, he ran out of the Gate, not omitting any shriek or gesture of men possess'd and mad. His Wife conscious of his counterfeiting, and privy to his design, taking her Children with her, first cast her self a supplicant before the Temple of the Goddesses; then pretending to seek her wandering Husband, no man hindering her, went out of the Town in safety; and by this means they all escaped to *Marcellus* at *Syracuse*. Now after many other such practices and affronts offered him by the men of *Engium*, *Marcellus* having taken them all Prisoners, and cast them into bonds, resolved to inflict upon them the last punishment; *Nicias* with tears in his eyes address'd himself to him. In fine, casting himself at *Marcellus's* feet, and deprecating for his Citizens, begged

ged most earnestly their lives, chiefly of his Enemies. *Marcellus* herewith relenting, set them at liberty, and rewarded *Nicias* with ample Lands and rich Presents. This History *Posidonius* the Philosopher hath committed to memory. *Marcellus* at length recall'd by the people of *Rome* to a near and suburban War, to illustrate his Triumph, and adorn the City, carried away with him very many and the most beautiful Ornaments of *Syracuse*. For before that, *Rome* neither had, nor had seen any thing of those polite and exquisite Rarities; nor were there any pieces of workmanship of the like Elegancy and Skill. Stuffed with barbarous Arms and Spoils, stain'd with blood, and every where crown'd with triumphal Ornaments and Trophies: she was no pleasant or delightful Spectacle, fit to feed the eyes of peaceful or delicate Spectators: But as *Epaminondas* named the Fields of *Bæotia*, the Stage of *Mars*; and *Xenophon* call'd *Ephesus*, the work-house of War; so in my judgment, may you call *Rome*, at that time, (that I may use the words of *Pindarus*) the Temple of *Mars* rustling in Armour. Whence *Marcellus* was more grateful to the People, because he had adorned the City with delights that had the Grecian gracefulness, and symmetry of parts, exhibiting grateful variety to the beholders. *Fabius Maximus* touched

touched not, nor brought away any thing of this kind from *Tarentum*, when he had taken it. The Money and Riches he carried thence, but forbad the Statues to be moved: adding withal, as it is vulgarly related, *Let us leave to the Tarentines these offended Gods*. But they reprehended *Marcellus*, first that he had rais'd up envy against the City, in which there was now a Triumph, not onely over men, but also over the Gods as Captives: then that he had cast into idleness, and prating about the curious Artifices and Artificers, the common people, which bred up in Wars and Agriculture, had never tasted of Luxury and Sloth, and as *Euripides* said of *Hercules*,

*Rude in ill Arts,
Skilful in things of Use;*

so that now they mispent much of their time (in gazing upon, and prating about these new-induced Monuments of the Grecian Magnificence and Delicacy.) And yet notwithstanding this Reprimand, *Marcellus* gloried even before the *Greeks* themselves in this, that he had taught the *Romans*, till then rude and unskilful in such Masterpieces of Art, to esteem and admire the Elegant and wonderful things of *Greece*. But

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when the Envious oppos'd his being brought triumphant into the City, because there were some reliques of the War in *Sicily*, and a triumph would offer it self to the eyes of men, he gave way. He triumphed in *monte Albano*, thence enter'd the City in *Ovation*; but in this *Ovation*, he was neither carried in a Chariot, nor crown'd with Lawrel, nor usher'd by Trumpets sounding; but went afoot with shoes on, many Flutes or Pipes sounding in consort the while he pass'd along, wearing a Garland of Myrtle; as peaceable, with an aspect raising rather love and respect than fear. Whence I am by conjecture led to think, that heretofore the difference betwixt *Ovation* and *Triumph* was, not from the greatness of Atchievements, but from the manner of performing them. For they who having fought a set Battel, and slain the Enemies, returned Victors; led that Martial, and (in my judgment) cruel *Triumph*, and as the custom then was, illustrating the Army, adorned their Arms and Souldiers with a great deal of Lawrel: but they who without force, by benevolence, favour, and civil Language had done the business (and prevented shedding of human blood) to these Captains custom gave the honour of this Pacate and plausible *Ovation*. For a Pipe is the Ensign or badg of Peace, and Myrtle the plant of

of *Venus*, who more than the rest of the Gods and Goddesses abhors force and War. It is call'd *Ovation*, as most think, *ἡγάγον ἐνασπυόν*, because they act it with shouting and Songs of *Bacchus*. But the *Greeks* have wrested the word to their own Language, thinking that this honour also ought to be in part referr'd to father *Bacchus*, whom we call'd *Εἰήσον* and *Θείαμνον*. But the thing is otherwise. For it was the custom for Emperours in their triumph to immolate an Ox, but in their *Ovation*, a Sheep: hence they named it *Ovation*. But it is worth our labour to contemplate the *Laconic* Legislator, who instituted Sacrifices contrary to the *Roman*. For at *Lacedæmon*, a Captain, who had performed the work he undertook, by cunning or courteous Treaty, laying down his Command, immolated an Ox; he that did the business by Battel, offer'd a Cock: the *Lacedæmonians*, though most warlike, thinking an Exploit performed by Eloquence and subtilty, to be more excellent and more congruous to man, than one effected by meer force and courage. But whether of these two is to be preferr'd, I leave to the determination of others. *Marcellus* being the fourth time Consul, his Enemies suborned the *Syracusans* to come to *Rome* to accuse him, and to complain that they had suffer'd indignities and

and hostile wrongs, contrary to the League. It hapned that *Marcellus* was in the Capitol offering Sacrifice, when the *Syracusans* petitioned the Senate yet sitting, that they might have leave to accuse him and present their grievances. *Marcellus's* Colleague put them out of the Court, taking it extremely ill, that the business was moved *Marcellus* being absent. Which when he understood, he made haste thither. And first presiding as Consul, he referr'd to the Senate the cognizance of other matters: but when that charge against him came to be explicated, rising from his Seat, he passed as a private man into the place where the accused were wont to make their defence, and gave free liberty to the *Syracusans* to impeach him. But they struck with vehement consternation by his Majesty and confidence, stood astonish'd: and the power of his presence now in his Robe of Estate appear'd far more terrible and severe, than it had done when cover'd with Armour. Yet reanimated at length by *Marcellus's* Rivals, they began their impeachment, and made an Oration composed of Lamentation and Complaint, whereof this was the sum, That being Allies and Friends of the people of *Rome*, they had notwithstanding suffer'd those things, which other Emperours had abstain'd from inferring upon many Enemies.

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To this *Marcellus* answers; That though they had committed many acts of hostility against the people of *Rome*, yet they had suffer'd nothing but what Enemies conquer'd by War, and by force taken Captives, cannot possibly be defended from suffering. That it was their own fault they had been made Captives, because they refused to give ear to him attempting all fair and gentle means; neither were they by the power of Tyrants drawn into War, but rather imposed upon the Tyranny, to the end they might make War. The Orations ended, and the *Syracusans*, according to the custom turned out of the Court; *Marcellus* left his Colleague to ask the Sentences [of the Senators] and together with the *Syracusans* went out of the Temple, and staid expecting at the folding Doors of the Court; not in the least discomposed in Spirit, either by the accusation, or by anger against the *Syracusans*; but with high civility and modestly attending the issue of the cause. The Sentences at length all ask'd, and a decree of the Senate made in Vindication of *Marcellus*, the *Syracusans* with tears flowing from their eyes, cast themselves at his knees, beseeching him to forgive them present, and to be moved by the misery of the rest of their City, which would ever be mindful of and grateful for his benefits. Thus

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Marcellus softened by their tears and distress, was not onely reconcil'd to them, but most generously received the rest of the *Syracusans* into his faith and protection. The Liberty which he had restored to them, and their Rights, Laws, and Goods that were left, the *Senate* confirmed. Upon which account the *Syracusans* both decreed other Honours to *Marcellus*, and made a Law, that if *Marcellus* should at any time come into *Sicily*, or any of his Posterity, the *Syracusans* crowned should offer Sacrifices to the Gods. After this he moved against *Hannibal*. Now whereas the other Consuls and Emperours since the defeat receiv'd at *Cannæ*, had all made use of the same stratagem against *Hannibal*, namely to decline coming to a Battel with him; and that none had the courage to encounter him in the Field, and put themselves to the decision by the Sword: *Marcellus* enter'd into a diverse way of Counsel, thinking that *Italy* would be destroy'd by the very same thing, viz. delay, by which they looked to consume *Hannibal*; and that *Fabius* who was excessively cautious, expecting that the Enemies forces by length of time wasting away, the War would at length fall of itself without blows, after the manner of timid and fearful Physicians, who dreading so administer opportune Remedies, stay

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waiting till the decay of the Patient's strength put an end to the Disease; took not a right course to heal the sickness of his Country. And first, great Cities of the *Samnites*, which had revolted, came in to his power: in which he found a huge quantity of Corn and Money, and three thousand of *Hannibal's* Soldiers, that were left for the defence of those places. After this, the Proconsul *Cn. Fulvius*, with eleven Tribunes of the Souldiers being slain in *Apulia*, and the greatest part of the Army also at the same time cut off: he by Letters dispatch'd to *Rome*, bad the people be of good courage, for that he was now upon his march against *Hannibal*, to drive him out of that Country. These Letters being read, *Livy* writes that the people were not onely not-encouraged, but more discouraged than before. For the *Romans* expected so much, a greater danger than the last, by how much *Marcellus* excell'd *Fulvius* in Virtue and Conduct. He, as he had written, advancing in the Territories of the *Lucans*, came up to him at *Numistro*, and in a plain place, the Enemy keeping himself upon the Hills, pitch'd his Camp, and the next day drew forth his Army in order for Fight. Nor did *Hannibal* refuse the challenge. They fought stoutly and long on both sides; Victory yet seeming undecid'd on which to place the Lawrel: and

and after three hours Conflict, Night hardly parted them. The next Day as soon as the Sun was risen, he again brought forth his Troops, and ranged them among the dead bodies of the slain, challenging *Hannibal* to decide the question, to which of the two Fortune would give the Victory. When he dislodged and drew off, *Marcellus* gathering up the spoils of the Enemies, and burning the bodies of his slain Souldiers, closely followed him. And though *Hannibal* often used stratagems, and laid Ambushes to entrap *Marcellus*, yet he could never circumvent him. By tumultuary fights and skirmishes, which were all successful to *Marcellus*, he rais'd so great a fame of himself, that when the time of the *Comitia* at Rome was near at hand, the Senate thought fit rather to recall the other Consul from Sicily, than to recall *Marcellus* pursuing *Hannibal*. At his return to Rome, the Fathers enjoy'd him to name *Q. Fabius* Dictator. For the Dictator is created neither by the people, nor by the Senate; but either the Consul or Prætor before the Assembly pronounces him to be Dictator, whom he hath approved. Wherefore that great Magistrate is call'd Dictator à dicendo. Others affirm that he is named Dictator, not from a decree of the Senate, nor from an Order of the common-people; but because

because his word is a Law, and he commands what he pleases. For the Romans call the Magistrates Commands, *Edicts*. But now because *Marcellus's* Collegue, who was recall'd from Sicily, had a mind to name another Man Dictator, and would not be forced to change his Opinion, he sail'd away by Night into Sicily. So the common people made an Order, that *Q. Fabius* should be chosen Dictator: and the Senate by an express commanded *Marcellus* to nominate him. He obeying, proclaim'd him Dictator according to the order of the common people; but the Office of Proconsul was continued to himself for a Year. And when he had before resolv'd with *Fabius*, that while he besieged *Tarentum*, himself would by following and drawing up and down *Hannibal*, detain him from coming to the relief of the *Tarentins*; he overtook him at *Cannassum*: and as *Hannibal*, often shifted his Camp, and still declined the Combat, he every where attended to engage him. At last pressing upon him encamping, by light skirmishes he provok'd him to a Battel; but Night again divided them in the very heat of the Conflict. The next day *Marcellus* again shew'd himself in Arms, and brought up his Forces in array. *Hannibal*, enraged with extream grief, calls his *Carthaginians*

thaginians together to an Harangue; and vehemently prays them, to enter into Battel with courage, that they might maintain the honour and renown they had formerly acquired; For you see, saith he, how after so great Victories we have not liberty to respire, nor to repose our selves, though Victors; unless we drive this man back. Then the two Armies joyning Battel, they fought most fiercely; when the event of an untimely stratagem shew'd that *Marcellus* was guilty of an Error. The Right wing being hard press'd upon, he commanded the twelfth Legion to be brought up to the front of his engaged Battalion. This change perturbing the array and posture of the Legions, gave the Victory to the Enemies: and there fell two thousand seven hundred *Romans*. *Marcellus*, after he had retreated into his Camp, calling his Souldiers together; I see, said he, many *Roman* Arms and Bodies, but I see not so much as one *Roman*. To them imploring his pardon, he refus'd to give it while they remain'd beaten, but promis'd to give it so soon as they should overcome; and that he resolv'd to bring them into the Field again the next day, that the fame of their Victory might arrive at *Rome* before that of their flight. Dismissing the Assembly, he commanded Barly instead of Wheat to be given to those Companies

panies of Foot that had turned their backs. These things were so bitter to the Souldiers, that though a great number of them were grievously wounded, yet they report, there was not one to whom the Generals Oration was not more painful and smarting than his wounds. The Day breaking, a Scarlet Cassock, the sign of instant Battel, was shewn forth. The Foot-Companies mark'd with ignominy, begg'd they might be posted before the Ensigns, and obtain'd their request. Then the Tribunes, [or Collonels] bring forth the rest of the forces, and strengthen the first Battel with aids or reserves inserted. Whereof *Hannibal* being advertised, O strange saith he, what will you do with this man, who can bear neither good nor bad fortune? He is the onely man, who neither suffers us to rest when he is Victor, nor resteth himself when he is overcome. Shall we perpetually fight with him, who both in prosperous and adverse successes hath modesty to cover his fierceness and boldness? Then the Armies rush upon each other. When the Fight was doubtful, *Hannibal* commanded the Elephants to be brought into the first Battalion, and to be driven upon the Van of the *Romans*. When the Beasts, trampling upon many, soon disordered the Ensignes, *Flavius*, a Tribune of Souldiers, snatching

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an Ensign, meets them, and wounding the first Elephant with the Ensign-staff, puts him to flight. The Beast turned back upon the next, averts both him and the rest that followed. This *Marcellus* seeing, pours in his Horse with great force upon the disordered Elephants; and commands terror to be added to their confusion, that they might tread and crush each other under their feet. The Horse making a fierce impression, pursued the *Carthaginians* home to their Camp, cutting down a great number in the pursuit. The Elephants also wounded and running upon their own Party, made a very great slaughter of the Enemies. 'Tis said, more than eight thousand were slain; of the *Roman Army* three thousand were slain, and almost all wounded. This was the thing that gave *Hannibal* opportunity to dislodge in the silence of the Night, and to remove to greater distance from *Marcellus*; whom care and solicitude for his wounded men kept from pursuing him, though he vehemently desired so to do. Wherefore by soft and small Marches he removed into *Campania*, and to refresh his Souldiers, he kept them during the heat of the Summer lodged in Houses. But because *Hannibal*, having disordered himself from *Marcellus*, rambled with his Army round about the Countrey, and

and wasted *Italy*, as now free from all fear; at *Rome Marcellus* was evil spoken of. Whose Detractors induced *C. Publius Bibulus* Tribune of the People, a man Eloquent and fierce, to undertake his accusation. He by assiduous Harangues prevail'd upon the People to abrogate from *Marcellus* the command of the Army; "Seeing that *Marcellus*, saith he, "a little time exercised in the War, hath "retired himself to take care of his Body, as "if from the wrestling place to hot Baths. *Marcellus* hereof advertised, appointed Lieutenants to govern his Camp, and hasted to *Rome* to refute the Crimes charged upon him: and he there found ready drawn up against him an Impeachment consisting of those Calumnies. At the Day prefix'd, in the *Flaminian Circus*, into which place the people had assembled themselves, *Bibulus* from a higher place accused him. *Marcellus* answered, using a succinct and plain Speech. But the Lords and Princes of the City discoursed many things of the greatness of his Exploits and Atchievements, very freely advising the People not to shew themselves worse Judges than the Enemy, condemning *Marcellus* of timidity, from whom alone of all their Captains the Enemy fled, and perpetually endeavour'd, not to come to blows with him, but to

fight with the rest. When they made an end of speaking, the Accuser's hope to obtain Judgement [on his side] so far deceiv'd him, that *Marcellus* was not onely absolved, but the fifth time created Consul. No sooner had he entred upon the Consulate, but he surpressed a huge commotion in *Hetruria*, that had proceeded near to a Defection, and entring the Towns softned the minds of the Citizens. Hence, when the dedication of the Temple, which he had vowed out of the *Sicilian* Spoils to Honour and Virtue, was hinder'd by the Priests, because they denied that one Temple could be lawfully dedicated to two Gods; he began to adjoyn another to it, highly resenting the Priests Objection, and almost converting the thing into an Omen. And truly many other Prodigies also affrighted him; as some Temples struck with Lightning, and that in *Jupiter's* Temple Mice had gnawn the Gold. It was reported also, that an Ox had spoke, and that a Boy born with a head like an Elephant's was yet living. All which Predigies were indeed expiated, but no Attonement succeeded, nor was peace and reconciliation obtain'd from the Gods. Wherefore the *Aruspices* [or Diviners from the entrails and vital parts of the Sacrifices] detain'd him at *Rome* glowing and burning (with desire

desire to return to the War.) For no man was ever inflamed with so great desire of any thing, as that man was to fight a Battel with *Hannibal*. That was the Object of his Dreams in the Night, the subject of all his Discourses with his friends and familiars, nor did he present to the Gods any other wish, but that he might take *Hannibal* in fight. And I think, that he would most gladly have set upon him, both Armies being invironed with a Wall or Trench. Had he not been even loaded with Honours, and given proofs many ways of his maturity [of judgment,] and prudence above other Emperours; you might have said, that he was agitated by a juvenile ambition, above what became a man of that age: for he had passed the sixtieth year of his life when he began his fifth Consulship. The Sacrifices offered, and all things that belong to the propitiation of the Gods, performed according to the prescript of the Diviners; he with his Colleague went to carry on the War. Many ways he provoked *Hannibal* at that time having a standing Camp betwixt *Bantia* and the City *Venusia* [in *Apulia*.] But he held it not safe to commit the Dispute to the hazard of a Battel. And when he had gotten intelligence, that some Foot-Companies were sent to the Lo-

cri Epizephyrrii [a people of the *Brutii* in Italy, seated near the Promontory of *Zephyrium*, whence they are call'd *Epizephyrrii*, i. e. the Western *Locrians*] placing an ambush under the little Hill of *Pittetia* [a City of the *Brutii*, now call'd *Policastro*] he slew two thousand five hundred Souldiers. This incensed *Marcellus* to revenge. Wherefore he removed his Camp nearer to *Hannibal*. Betwixt the two Camps was a little Hill, affording a station not enough secure, but woody, and having watch-Towers overlooking both sides: and below were Fountains of Rivulets sliding down in sight of the Spectators from above. This place so fit and advantageous, the *Romans* admired that *Hannibal*, come thither before them, had not seiz'd upon, but left it to the Enemies. But to him the place seem'd commodious indeed for a Camp, yet more commodious for an Ambuscade: and to that use he chose to put it. So in the lawns of the Wood and the hollows he hid a great power of Archers and Spear-men, most confident that the commodiousness of the place would allure the *Romans*. Nor was he deceived in his expectation. For presently in the *Roman* Camp they mutter'd and disputed as if they had all been Captains, that that place was to be seiz'd, and how great opportunities they should

should thereby snatch from the Enemies before-hand, chiefly if they transferr'd their Camp thither, and strengthen'd the place with a fortress: and they moved *Marcellus* to go with a few Horse to view it. He, having call'd a Diviner to him, sacrificed. In the first slain Beast the *Aruspex* shew'd him the Liver without a head; in the second the head appear'd grown above measure great, and all the rest fair and highly promising good success. When these seem'd to free them from the dread of the former, the Diviners declared that they were more terrified by the latter: because entrails too fair and promising, when they appear after maimed and monstrous, render the Novity of the change of doubtful signification. But

Nor fire nor brasen Wall can keep out fate;

as *Pindarus* observes. *Marcellus* therefore taking with him his Colleague *Crispinus*, and his Son a Tribune of Souldiers, with two hundred and twenty Horse at most, among whom there was not one *Roman*, but all were *Hetruscans*, besides forty *Fregellans*, of whose courage and fidelity he had in all occasions receiv'd full proof; goes to view the [inviting] place. The Hill was full of high woods, and darksom; on the

top of it fate a Centinel, cover'd from the sight of the Enemy, but having the *Roman* Camp expos'd to his eyes. Upon a sign receiv'd from him, they that were placed in Ambush, stirr'd not till *Marcellus* came near. Then all rising up in an instant, and encompassing him from all sides, they fell to invade him with Darts, to strike, and wound the backs of those that fled, to press upon those who bravely resisted. These were the forty *Fregellans*. And though the *Hetruscans* fled in the very beginning of the fight, the *Fregellans* cast themselves into a Ring, bravely defending the Consuls, till *Crispinus*, struck with two Darts, turned his Horse to fly away; and *Marcellus's* side was pierced through with a Lance with a broad head. Then the *Fregellans* also, the few that remain'd alive, leaving the fallen Consul, and rescuing young *Marcellus*, wounded also, got into the Camp by flight. There were slain not many above forty; five *Lictors*, and twelve Horsemen came alive into the Enemies hands. *Crispinus* also died of his wounds a few days after. This Defeat, in which both Consuls fell together, was the first of that kind that ever befell the *Romans*. *Hannibal* little valuing the other events, so soon as he was told of *Marcellus's* death, immediately hasten'd to the Hill. From him viewing the Body,
after

after he had long consider'd the strength and shape thereof, there fell not a word expressing the least of pride or arrogance, nor did he shew in his countenance any sign of gladness, as another perhaps would have done, when his fierce Enemy had been taken away: but amazed by the so sudden and unexpected fall of so great a man, and taking off his Ring, gave order to have the Body, most magnificently clad and adorned, honourably burned. The Reliques, put into a silver Urn, with a Crown of Gold to cover it, he sent back to his Son. But some of the *Numidians* setting upon those that were carrying the Urn, took it from them by force, and cast away the bones. Which being told to *Hannibal*, *How impossible is it*, saith he, *to do any thing against the will of God!* Then he punished the *Numidians* with Death: but took no farther care of sending or collecting the bones; conceiving that *Marcellus* so rashly fell, and lay unburied, by a certain fate. So *Cornelius Nepos* and *Valerius Maximus* have left upon Record: but *T. Livius* and *Augustus Cæsar* affirm, that the Urn was brought to his Son, and then carried forth with a magnificent Funeral. Besides the Monuments rais'd for him at *Rome*, there was dedicated to his memory at *Catana* in *Sicily* an ample Wrestling

ling-place call'd *Gymnasium Marcelli*. Statues and Pictures, of those he took from *Syracuse*, were set up in *Smothracia* in the Temple of the Gods named *Cabiri* [*Phœnician* Gods, chiefly worship'd at *Berytus*] and in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Lindum* [one of the three best Towns in the Island *Rhodes*] where to a Statue of his was added (as *Poſſonius* delivers) this Epigram.

*This (Stranger) was to Rome a Glorious Star,
Noble by Blood, but nobler much by War,
Marcellus Claudius; seven times Consul made,
His Sword sent Foes in millions to the Shades.*

The Author of this Epigram accounts to *Marcellus's* five Consulates, his two Proconsulates. His Progeny continued in high honour even to *Marcellus* Son of *Octavia* Sister of *Augustus*, whom she brought to her Husband *C. Marcellus*. He deceased a Bridegroom in the year of his *Ædileship*, having not long before married *Cæſar's* Daughter. His Mother *Octavia* dedicated a Library to his honour and memory: and *Cæſar*, the Theatre, on which he caused to be engraven *Theatrum Marcelli*.

The PARALLEL.

THESE are the memorable things I have found in Historians of *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*. Betwixt which two [great Men] though in Wit, Inclinations, and Manners they nearly resembled each other; because both were valiant, and diligent, and daring, and haughty: there was yet some diversity in this, that *Marcellus* in many Cities that he reduced into his Power, committed great slaughter; but *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, when they had gotten a Victory, never kill'd any Man, nor deprived the Citizens of their Liberty. They report, that the *Thebans* also would not, when they were present, have so resolved against the *Orcho-menians*. *Marcellus's* Exploits against the *Gauls* are admirable and ample: when guarded by a few Horse he defeated and put to flight a vast number of Horse and Foot together (an action you cannot easily in Historians find to have been done by any other Captain) and took their King Prisoner. To which honour though *Pelopidas* aspired, he attain'd not to it, but was kill'd by the Tyrant, and prevented. But to these you may perhaps oppose those two most noble and very great Battels, the

the one at *Leuctra*, the other at *Tegyra*. But there is extant no Memoir of any Atchievement of *Marcellus*, by stealth, or treachery, or Ambuscade: such as were those of *Pelopidas*, when he returned from Exile, and kill'd the Tyrants at *Thebes*. But in this he seems to be worthy of commendation, more than for all his Atchievements performed in the dark and by cunning and stratagems. Now *Hannibal*, a terrible Enemy, and a hard, urged the *Romans*: as in truth the *Lacedæmonians* did then the *Thebans*. But that these were in the Fights of *Leuctra* and *Tegyra* beaten and put to flight by *Pelopidas*; is confess'd. *Polybius* writes, that *Hannibal* was never so much as once vanquished by *Marcellus*, but remain'd in all Encounters invincible until *Scipio* (managed the War against him.) But we believe rather *Livius*, *Cæsar*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and among the *Greeks* King *Juba*, who all expressly affirm, that the whole Army of *Hannibal* was in some Fights routed and put to flight by *Marcellus*, though these defeats conduced little to the sum of the War. And it appears, that the *Carthaginians* cunning and stratagems deceived him in those Conflicts. But this may seem truly admirable, that *Marcellus* made the *Romans*, after the defeat of so many Armies, the slaughter of so many Captains, and

in fine, the confusion of almost the whole *Roman Empire*, valiant still, and of courage equal to their losses, and fit to engage in new Battels. For *Marcellus* was the only man, that took from them that great and inveterate fear and dread, and revived, raised, confirmed the Spirits of the Soldiers fighting with the Enemies for Glory and Victory, to that degree of bravery, that they would not easily yield the Victory, but contend for it [to the last.] For the same men, whom assiduous Defats had accustomed to think themselves happy, if they could but save themselves by running from *Hannibal*; These he taught to esteem it base and ignominious to return safe after a loss of the Victory; lest thereby they should implicitly confess, that they had given back in the ardor of the Fight; and to grieve to extremity, they had not forced the Palm out of the Enemies hands. Truth is, though *Pelopidas* was never overcome in any Battel, where himself was present, and commanded in Chief; and *Marcellus* referr'd many Victories to his equals: truly he that could not be easily overcome, was of right to be compared with the most invincible. But *Marcellus* took *Syracuse*; whereas *Pelopidas* was frustrated of his hope to reap the spoils of *Sparta*. But in my judgment, 'twas more difficult to advance his

his Standard even to the Walls of Sparta, and to be the first of Mortals that ever passed the River *Eurotas* in Arms, than it was to tame *Sicily*; unless it be your judgment, that that Adventure, is with more of right to be attributed to *Epaminondas*, as was also the *Leutrick* Battel. Whereas *Marcellus's* Renown, and the glory of his brave Actions came intire and undiminished to him alone. For he alone took *Syracuse*; and without a Companion or Rival, fought with *Hannibal*; and quite changing the face of the War, was the first Captain that durst attempt any thing memorable upon him, even at a time when all other Captains declined to fight him. The *Gauls* in like manner he routed and put to most shameful flight, without his Collegue. I commend not the death of either of these, nay rather I sigh and groan, and am truly afflicted for their sudden and unexpected fall. But I much admire, that in so many sharp Conflicts, more than can be reckoned in one day, *Hannibal* received not so much as one wound. I commend also *Chrysantes* (in *Xenophon's Cyropædia*) who having lost his Sword, and about to strike his Enemy, so soon as a Retreat was sounded, left his Enemy, and retired himself sedately and modestly. Yet the anger, which provoked *Pelopidas* to pursue revenge in the heat of fight, may excuse him.

The

The first thing for a Captain is to gain Safe Victory; the next to be with honour slain.

as *Euripides* teacheth. For then no incommodity is offer'd, but Death is called the action of him going off. Now the end of *Pelopidas's* Victory, which consisted in the slaughter of the Tyrant, besides the flame presenting it self to his eyes, did not wholly carry him away unadvisedly: because it was not easie to lay hold of another glorious occasion conjoyned with matter so honourable and splendid. But *Marcellus*, when it made little to his advantage, and when no violent ardour (as it usually falls out in present danger) transported him to passion, throwing himself into danger, fell into an unexplored Ambush: he who had born five Consulates, three Triumphs, won the spoils and glories of Kings and Victories, to act the part of a fore-runner, Scout, or Centinel, and to expose all his Atchievements to be trod under foot by the mercenary *Spaniards* that served the *Carthaginians*, and by *Numidians*; so that even themselves envied to themselves that unhop'd success, that they had oppress'd among a few *Fregellans*, that were Scouts, the most Valiant, the most Potent, and most Renowned man among the *Romans*. Let no man think that we have

have said these things out of design to accuse, but of freely reprehending, in their names, those and their Virtue and Courage, or to which when they despise Life; and refer the rest of their noble Endowments; they perished not more to their Countrey, Allies and Friends, than to themselves. After *Pelopidas* his death, his friends, for whom he died, made a Funeral for him; the Enemies, by whom he had been kill'd, made one for *Marcellus*. That was to be wish'd for, and fortunate. For he that honours Virtue pursuing him with enmity, is more noble and excellent, than he that requites a benefit. Since virtue alone challenges to it self the honour of the former: but in the latter, profit and private advantage is rather beloved, than Virtue.

THE
L I F E
O F
ARISTIDES.

Translated from the Greek, by *John Cooper*, Fellow of Trinity Colledge in *Cambridg.*

Volume II.



*Asked by the illiterate Clown his vote to put
Up against himself does a Good man submit
Hoe wrong to him had Aristides done
But he was just and that disgusts the Clown
Thus where if Rabble rule of Great they enslave
And virtues self's destructive to the Braver*

ARISTIDES the Son of *Lyfima-*
chus was of the Tribe *Antiochis* and
Borough of *Alopece* ; but concerning
what Estate he had there are various Dis-
courses : some that he passed his Life in ex-
tream Poverty, and left behind him two
Daughters, whose Indigence long continued
F f them

* Εἰς τὸν
 μὲν Ἀρχὸν
 Because
 at Athens
 they reckoned
 the years by
 their Archons,
 as the Romans
 by their Consuls.
 One of the
 Ἐργασίας
 * Ἀρχόντες
 was to
 this purpose
 chose by lot
 out of the rest,
 and his Name
 Inscrbed in
 the public
 Re-cords.

them unmarried. But *Demetrius* the *Pbalerian* opposing this general Report in his *Socrates*, professes to know a Farm at *Phalera*, going by *Aristides's* Name, where he was interred, and as marks of the plentiful Condition of his Family supposeth first the * Office of *Archon* to be one, which he obtained by the lot of the Bean drawn amongst those Families of the most considerable Possessions whom they call'd *Pentacotiomedimnos*. Secondly the *Ostracism*, accustomed to be inflicted on none of the poorer sort but those of great Houses, and who were by their eminent Quality exposed to Envy; The third and last, that he left certain *Tripodes* in the Temple of *Bacchus* Offerings for his Victory in the Stage-Plays, which are even in our Age to be seen retaining this Inscription upon them, *The Tribe Antiochis obtain'd the Victory: ARISTIDES defrayed the Charges: ARCHESTRATUS's Play was Acted*. But this Argument, tho in appearance the greatest, is of the least moment of any. For *Epaminondas*, whom all the World knows was Educated and lived in much poverty, and *Plato* the Philosopher exhibited very Magnificent shews, the one setting forth an Entertainment of Flautists, the other of the Singers of *Dithyrambicks*: *Dion* the *Syracusan* supplying the expences of the latter, and *Pelopidas* those

those of *Epaminondas*. For good men are not irreconcilable Enemies to the receiving Presents from their friends, but looking upon those that are taken to hoard, and with an avaritious intention as sordid and mean, refuse not such as are had on the score of Ambition and Splendour whence no gain accrueeth. But *Panætius* sheweth that *Demetrius* was mistaken concerning the *Tripode* through the likeness of the Name. For from the *Persian War* to the end of the *Peloponnesian* there are upon Record onely two by the Name of *Aristides*, who have set forth Plays and carried the Prize, neither of which was the same Son of *Lyfimaachus*; but the Father of the one was *Xenophylus*, and the other much more modern; As the way of writing by the Grammar in use since the time of *Euclid*, and the addition of the Name of *Archestratus* prove, whom in the time of the Wars with the *Medes* no one Writer mentions, but several during those of *Peloponnesus* Chronicle as a Dramatick Poet. But this of *Panætius* ought to be more nearly considered. As for the *Ostracism*; every one was liable to it, who for his Reputation, Quality, or Eloquence; was esteemed above the common Level; In so much as even *Damon* Præceptor to *Pericles* was banished thereby because he seem'd a man of more than ordinary Sense. And

more *Idomeneus* saith, that *Aristides* was not made Archon by the lot of the Bean but the free Election of the People. And if he governed after the Battel of *Platea*, as *Demetrius* himself hath written, it is very probable that by reason of his so great Reputation and success in the Wars, he was preferred to that for his Virtue which others received in consideration of their wealth. But *Demetrius* manifestly endeavoureth not only to exempt *Aristides*, but *Socrates* likewise from Poverty as a great Ill; for he saith the latter had not onely an House of his own, but also seventy *Mine* put out to use with *Crito*.

But *Aristides* being the familiar acquaintance of that *Clesthene*s, who settled the Government after the Expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, and above all Politicians imitating and admiring *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian*, adhered to the Aristocratical way of Government; but had *Themistocles* Son to *Neocles* his Adversary in behalf of the Populacy. Some say that, being Boys and bred up together from their Infancy, they were always at variance with each other in all their Words and Actions as well serious as divertive, and that from this their contention they soon made discovery of their natural Inclinations; the one being ready, adventurous and subtle, soon and with much

much ease carried to any thing: the other a stayed and settled Temper and intent on the exercise of Justice, not admitting in any degree falsifying, ill language or deceit, no not so much as at his play. *Aristo* of *Chios* saith, their Enmity had its beginning from Love, and thence encreased to so great an height; for being both enamoured of *Stesilaus* of *Cea*, the most beautiful of Youths, they were passionate beyond all moderation, neither laid they down their Rivalship even with the decaying Beauty of the Boy; but as it were exercised therein, they immediately applied themselves to publick business with Heats and Differences.

Themistocles therefore joyned to a Party fortified himself with no inconsiderable strength, insomuch as to one who told him were he impartial he would govern *Athens* well; *I wish*, replied he, *I may never sit on that Tribunal where my Friends shall not plead a greater Priviledg than strangers*. But *Aristides* was in a manner singular in his Politicks, being unwilling in the first place to go along with his Associates in ill doing, or by not gratifying them therein to become displeasing to them; secondly, observing that many were encouraged by the Authority of their Friends to act injuriously; he was cautious; being of Opinion that the integrity of his

of his Words and Actions was the only security to a good Citizen. Howbeit *Themistocles* making many dangerous alterations, and withstanding and interrupting him in the whole Series of his Actions, he also was necessitated to set himself against all *Themistocles* did, partly in consideration of his Revenge, and partly to impede his Power still increasing by the favour of the Multitude; esteeming it better to forget some publick conveniences rather than he by prevailing should be powerful in all things. In fine, when he once opposed *Themistocles* in an Action that was expedient and had the better of him, he could not refrain saying when he left the Assembly, that unless they sent *Themistocles* and himself to the * *Barathrum* there could be no safety for the Affairs of *Athens*. Another time moving a certain matter to the people, though there were opposition and stirring against it, yet he carried it. But the President of the Assembly being about to put it to the Vote, perceiving by the Debates the inconvenience thereof, he let it fall. Also he often brought in his Bills by other persons, lest *Themistocles*, through his strife with him, should be any hinderance to the good of the Publick.

In any alteration of Affairs his Constancy was admirable, as not being puffed up with

* A Prison
or Dun-
geon in *A-*
thens.

with Honour, and demeaning himself undisturb'd and sedately in Adversity, and also of Opinion that he ought to offer himself to the service of his Countrey unmercenary and without the Reward not onely of Riches but even glory it self. Whence it is likely, at the recital of these Verses of *Æschylus* in the Theatre relating to *Amphiaraus*.

*He aims at being just, not seeming so:
Profound of Mind the fruit thereof to shew;
Where sage Advice, and prudent Counsels
(grow.*

The eyes of all the Spectators were converted on *Aristides*, as if this Vertue did in a most especial manner appertain unto him. For he was a most strong Champion for Justice, not onely against Friendship and favour but wrath and malice. Therefore it is reported of him that prosecuting the Law against one who was his Enemy, and the Judges after accusation refusing to hear the Criminal, but immediately proceeding to pass Sentence upon him, he rose in haste from his Seat, and joyned in Petition with him for a hearing, and that he might enjoy the priviledge of the Law. Another time Judging between two private persons, the one declaring his Adversary

F f 4

had

had very much injured *Aristides*; *Relate rather good Friend*, he said, *what wrong he hath done thee. For it is thy cause, not my own, which I now sit Judge of.* Being chosen publick Treasurer, he made it appear, that not onely those of his time, but the preceeding Officers had alienated much Treasure, and especially *Themistocles*. For he was a wise Man, but *light fingered*. Wherefore [*Themistocles*] associating several persons against *Aristides* and impeaching him when he gave in his Accounts, caused him to be condemned of robbing the Publick; but the best and chiefest men of the City ill relenting it, he was not only exempt from the Fine imposed upon him, but likewise again designed to the same Employment. But pretending to repent him of his former practices, and carrying himself with more remissness, he became acceptable to such as had pillaged the Treasury, by not detecting or calling them to an exact account. So that those who had had their fill of the publick Cash began highly to applaud *Aristides*, and sued to the people, making it their business to have him once more chosen Treasurer. But being upon the point of Election he reproved the *Athenians*. *When I discharged you my Office well and faithfully*, said he, *I had dirt thrown in my face; but now I pass over*
many

many things in those who rob the Treasury, I seem an admirable Patriot. I am more ashamed therefore of this present Honour than the former Sentence, but I commiserate your condition, with whom it is more praise-worthy to oblige ill men, than conserve the Revenue of the Publick. By saying thus and discovering their Thefts, he stopped the mouths of those who cryed him up and vouched for him, but gain'd a real commendation from the best men.

When *Datis* (being sent by *Darius* under pretence of revenging upon the *Athenians* their burning of *Sardis*, but in reality to subjugate the *Grecians* to his Dominion) put in at *Marathon* and laid waste the Countrey, among the Commanders set over the *Athenians* to manage the War. *Miltiades* was of the greatest Authority; but the second place, both for Reputation and Power, was possessed by *Aristides*: and when his Opinion to joyn Battel was added to that of *Miltiades*, it did not a little incline the Ballance. Every Leader by his Day having the Command in chief: When it came to [*Aristides*] his turn, he delivered it into the hands of *Miltiades*, giving his Fellow-Officers to understand that it is not dishonourable to obey and follow men of good Conduct, but the contrary and safe. So appeasing their
their

their contention, and exhorting them to acquiesce in one and the best Advice, he confirmed *Miltiades* in the strength of an undivided Authority. For now every one quitting their Day of Command had regard to him onely. During the Fight the main Body of the *Athenians* being the hardest put to it, the *Barbarians* for a long time making opposition there against the Tribes *Leontis*, and *Antiochis*, *Themistocles* and *Aristides* being ranged together fought valiantly; for the one was of the Tribe *Leontis*, the other of *Antiochis*. But after they had beaten the *Barbarians* back to their Ships, and perceived that they failed not for the Isles, but were driven in by the force of Sea and Wind towards the Countrey of *Attick*; fearing lest they should take the City [of *Athens*] unprovided of defence, they speeded away thither with nine Tribes, and reached it the same Day. But *Aristides* being left with his Tribe at *Marathon* to guard the Plunder and Prisoners deceived not the Opinion they had of him. For the abundance of Gold and Silver, of all sorts of Apparel, and an infinite number of other things that were in the Tents and Vessels they had taken, he had no desire to meddle with himself, nor suffered any else to do it, unless there were such who took a way

way any thing unknown to him. Of this number was *Callias* the **Torch-bearer*; [in the Sacrifices of *Ceres*.] One of the *Barbarians* it seemeth prostrated himself before this man, supposing him to be a King by his Hair and Fillet: and when he had so done, taking him by the hand shewed him a great quantity of Gold hid in a Ditch. But *Callias* the most cruel and impious of men, took away the Treasure but slew the Person, lest he should reveal it to any other. Hence they say the Comick Poets gave his Family the name of *Laccopluti*, or enrich'd by the Ditch, reflecting upon the place where *Callias* found the Gold. *Aristides* soon after this was Archon, although *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* saith he governed a little before he died, after the Battel of *Platææ*. But in the Records after *Xanthippides* in whose Year *Mardonius* was overthrown at *Platææ*, amongst very many there mentioned, there is not so much as one of the same Name as *Aristides*: But immediately after *Phanippus*, during whose Regency they obtained the Victory of *Marathon*, *Aristides* is Registred.

Of all his Vertues the Vulgar were most affected with his Justice, because of its continual and common use. Whence being a Person of mean fortune and Birth, he

he possessed himself of the most Kingly and divine Appellation of *Just*. Which no King or Tyrant ever sought after; who have taken delight to be surnamed, *a* Overcomers of Cities, *b* Thunderers, *c* Conquerours, and some *d* Eagles, and *e* Hawks; Affecting it

a Demetrius, Polycrates, *b* Seleucus, Ptolomeus Ceraunus, *c* Demetrius Nicanor, *d* Pyrrhus is surnamed *Aetōs*, in the following Account of his Life. *e* Antiochus *Ἰερεῖς* &c.

seems the Reputation which proceeds from Power and Violence, rather than that of Vertue. Although the Divinity (to whom they desire to compare and assimilate themselves) excels in three things, Immortality, Power, and Vertue; but the most venerable and Divine is Vertue. For the Elements and Vacuum have Immortality; Earthquakes, Thunders, Storms, and Torrents, have great power; but as for Justice and Equity, nothing participates thereof except what is Divine, by the means of Sapience and Ratiocination. Wherefore there being three ways the Vulgar stand affected towards the Deity, an esteem of his happiness, a fear and honour of him; they seem to think him blest and happy for his want of Death and Corruption: to fear and reverence him for his Power and Dominion: But to love, honour, and adore him for his Justice. Nevertheless being thus disposed they covet that

that Immortality which our Nature is not capable of, and that Power the greatest part of which is at the disposal of Fortune; but foolishly postpone the onely Divine good in us, Vertue: For as much as Justice makes such as are in Prosperity, Power and Authority to lead the life of a God, the contrary that of a Beast. *Aristides* therefore had, at first, the fortune to be belov'd for this surname, but at length envied. Especially when *Themistocles* spread a Rumour amongst the people, that by determining and judging all matters by himself, having destroyed the Courts of Judicature, he secretly made way for a Monarchy in his own person without the assistance of Guards. Now the spirits of the people grown high, and set on great matters by reason of their late Victory, were offended at all of eminent Fame and Reputation. Coming together therefore from all parts into the City, they banished *Aristides* by the Ostracism, giving their Envy to his Reputation the Name of Fear of Tyranny. For it was not the punishment of any flagitious Act; but speciously term'd the Depression and Restraint of exceeding Greatness and Power. It was a gentle mitigation of Envy, determining its malice to work Injuries in no intolerable thing, only a 10 years Banishment.

But

But after the People began to subject bad and villanous Fellows heretunto, they deserted from it; *Hyperbolus* being the last whom they banished by the Ostracism.

The cause of *Hyperbolus* his banishment is said to be this, *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* Men that bore the greatest sway in the City were of different factions. As the people therefore were about to Vote the Ostracism and apparently to decree it against one of them; consulting together, and uniting their Parties, they contrived the Banishment of *Hyperbolus*. Whereupon the people being offended, as if some Contempt or Affront was put upon the thing, left off and quite abolished it. It was performed, to be short in this manner, Every one taking the *Ostrakon*, or Shell, and writing upon it the Citizen's Name he would have banished, carried it to a certain part of the Market-place surrounded with wooden Rails. First, the Magistrates numbered all the Shells in gross; (for if there were less than six hundred the Ostracism was imperfect,) then laying every Name by it self, they pronounced him whose Name was written by the major part banished for ten Years, enjoying his Estate. As therefore they were Inscribing their Shells, it is reported that a very illiterate clownish Fellow giving *Aristides* his Shell as to one of the Mobile, entreated him to write *Aristides* upon it; but he being amazed and asking if *Aristides* had ever done him any injury, None at all, said he, neither know I the man, but am troubled to hear him spoken of every where, as a just Person. *Aristides* hearing this is said to have made no Reply but returned the Shell with the Inscription of his own Name. At his departure from the City, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, he prayed, as appears, contrary to *Achilles*, that the *Athenians* might never have any occasion which should constrain them to remember *Aristides*. Nevertheless three Years after, when *Xerxes* marched through *Thessaly* and *Bæotia* into the Countrey of *Attica*, Repealing the Law, they Decreed the return of the Banished; chiefly fearing *Aristides*, lest, joining himself to the Enemy, he should corrupt and bring over many of his Fellow Citizens to the party of the Barbarians, being mistaken in the Man, who, even before the Decree, was continually exciting and encouraging the *Grecians* to the defence of their Liberty; And afterwards when *Themistocles* was [General of the *Athenians*] he assisted him in all things both of Action and Council; rendring the greatest Enemy he had the most glorious of men in consideration of the common security.

ty. For when *Eurybiades* was deliberating to desert the Isle of *Salamis*, and the Councils of the *Barbarians* putting out by Night to Sea, surrounded and beset the narrow passage and Islands; no body knowing how they were environed; *Aristides* undauntedly sailed from *Ægina* through the Enemy's Fleet, and coming by Night to *Themistocles*'s Pavilion, and calling him out by himself: *If we are Wise*, said he, *Themistocles*, laying aside at this time our vain and childish contention, let us enter upon a safe and honorable dispute, contending with each other for the preservation of *Greece*; you in the Ruling and Commanding, I in the Executive and Advising part. For as much as I now understand that you alone adhere to the best Advice in counsel, I will sell without any delay to engage in the Straights. And though our own party oppose yet the Enemy seems to assist you herein. For the Sea behind, and all around us is covered with their Fleet: so that we are under a necessity of approving our selves men of Courage and Fighting, whether we will or no; for there is no room left us for flight. To which *Themistocles* answered, *I would not willingly overcome by you on this occasion: and shall endeavour, in emulation of this commendable beginning to go beyond the same in my Actions.* Also relating to him the Stratagem he had framed against the *Barbarians*.

Barbarians, he entreated him to persuade *Eurytiades* and shew him, how it was impossible they should save themselves without an Engagement. For he gave more to him. Whence in the Council of War, *Cleocritus* the *Corinthian* telling *Themistocles* that *Aristides* did not like his Advice, for he was present and said nothing: *Aristides* answered, *That he should not hold his peace if Themistocles did not speak that which was most expedient, but that he was now silent not out of any good will to the person, but in approbation of his Counsel.* In this sort were the *Grecian* Captains busied. But *Aristides* perceiving *Psytalia* a small Island that lieth within the Straights over against *Salamis* wholly taken up by the Enemy, he put aboard his Tenders the most forward and courageous of his Country-men, and went ashore upon it; and joyning Battel with the *Barbarians*, slew them all, except such remarkable Persons as were taken alive. Amongst these were three Children of *Candaules* the King's Sister, whom he immediately sent away to *Themistocles*, and it is reported, that according to a certain Oracle, they were by the Command of *Euphrantides* the Seer, sacrificed to *Bacchus Omestes*, or the Devourer. But *Aristides* surrounding the Island with Armed Men, lay in wait for such as were cast thereon, to the in-

Themistocles
said.

tent none of his Friends should perish, or any of his Enemies escape. For the greatest engagement of the Ships, and the main fury of the whole Battel, seemeth to have been about this place. Wherefore a Trophy was erected in *Psytalia*.

After the fight *Themistocles*, to sound *Aristides*, told him they had performed a good piece of service, but there was a better yet to be done, the keeping *Asia* in *Europe* by sailing forthwith to the *Hellespont* and cutting in sunder the Bridg. But *Aristides* declining, desired him to let fall the Discourse, but to deliberate and Essay, as soon as possible, to remove the *Mede* out of *Greece*, lest being inclosed through want of means to escape, necessity should convert him to force his way with so great an Army. So *Themistocles* once more dispatched *Arnaces* the Eunuch his Prisoner, giving him in Command privately to advertise the King that he had diverted the *Greeks* from their intention of setting Sail for the Bridges out of a desire he had to preserve him. *Xerxes* being much terrified herewith, immediately speeded to the *Hellespont*. But *Mardonius* was left with the most serviceable part of the Army, about three hundred thousand Men and was formidable, through the great confidence he had reposed in his Infantry menacing the *Grecians* and writing to the

in this manner, *You have overcome by Sea Men accustomed to fight on Land and unskilled at the Oar; but now there is in the Champaign Countrey of Thessaly, and the Plains of Beotia convenient for the Valiant, either Horse or Foot to contend in.* But he sent privately to the *Athenians* both by Letter and word of Mouth from the King, promising to re-edifie their City, to give them a vast sum of Money, and constitute them Lords of all *Greece*, on condition they were not engaged in the War. The *Lacedæmonians* being advertised hereof, and fearing, dispatched an Embassy to the *Athenians*, entreating that they would send their Wives and Children to *Sparta*, and receive Alimony from them for their superannuated. For being spoiled both of their City and Countrey an extream poverty oppressed the people. Having given Audience to the Embassadors, they returned an Answer upon the motion of *Aristides*, which was to admiration, declaring that *they* for-
give their Enemies if they thought all things purchasable by wealth, than which they knew nothing of greater value; but that they were highly offended at the Lacedæmonians, because they had respect onely to their present poverty and exigence, without any remembrance of their Labour and Magnanimity, when they exert them to fight in the cause of Greece

for the reward of their Bread. *Aristides* making this Proposal, and bringing both the Embassadors into the Assembly, charged them to tell the *Lacedæmonians*, that all the Treasure in the whole World was of that value with the people of Athens as the liberty of Greece. And shewing the Sum to those who came from *Mardonius*, as long as that retains the same course, so long shall he, shall the Citizens of Athens wage War with the Persians for that Country which has been wasted, and those Temples that have been profaned and burnt by them. Moreover, he preferred a Decree that the Priests should Anathematize him who sent any Embassage to the *Medes*, or deserted the Alliance of Greece.

* The Athenians.

When *Mardonius* made a second Incurſion into the Countrey of *Attica*, * they passed over again to the Isle of *Salamis*. But *Aristides* being sent to *Lacedæmon*, reproved in them their delay and neglect, as abandoning *Athens* once more to the Barbarians, but demanded their assistance for that part of Greece which was not yet lost. The *Boeotians*, hearing this, made shew of sporting all Day, and carelessly keeping Holy-day (for they celebrated the *Hiacynthia*.) But in the night selecting five thousand persons, each of which was attended by seven *Ilotes*, they sent them forth unknown to those of

Athens

Athens. And when *Aristides* came again to reprehend them, they told him in derision that he either doted or dreamed, for the Army was already at *Oresteum* in their march towards the Strangers; (for so they called the *Persians*.) But *Aristides* said they jested unseasonably, deluding their Friends instead of their Enemies. Thus says *Idomeneus*. But in the Decree of *Aristides*, not himself but *Cimon*, *Xanthippus* and *Milonides* are appointed Embassadors. Being chose General of the War, he repaired to *Plateæ* with eight thousand *Athenians*, where *Pausanias* Generalissimo of all Greece, joined him with the *Spartans*, and the forces of the other *Grecians* came in to them. The whole Camp of the Barbarians being extended all along the Bank of the River *Asopus*, their numbers were so great there was no bounding them, but their Carriages and most valuable things they surrounded with a square Bulwark, each side of which was the length of ten furlongs.

Now *Tisamenus* of this had prophesied to *Pausanias* and all the *Grecians*, and foretold them the Victory if they made no attempt upon the Enemy, but stood on their defence. But *Aristides* sending to *Delphos*, the God answer'd, that the *Athenians* should overcome their Enemies, in case they made

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supplication to *Jupiter* and *Juno* of *Citheron*, *Pan* and the Nymphs *Sphragirides*, and sacrificed to the Heroes *Androcrates*, *Leopon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hyphion*, *Aclæon*, and *Polydus*; and if they fought within their own Territories in the Plain of *Ceres Eleusina* and *Proserpina*. *Aristides* was perplexed at the return of this Oracle: for the Heroes to whom it commanded him to sacrifice, had been Chieftains of the *Platæans*, and the Cave of the Nymphs *Sphragirides* was on the top of Mount *Citheron*, on that side which in the Summer season is opposed to the setting Sun. In which place, as Fame goeth, there was formerly an Oracle, and many that dwelt in those parts were inspired with it, whom they called *Nympholepti*, possessed with the Nymphs; But the Plain of *Ceres Eleusina* and giving Victory to the *Athenians*, if they fought in their own Territories, recalled to gain and transferred the War into the Country of *Attica*. In this Juncture *Arimnestus* who commanded the *Platæans*, dreamed that *Jupiter* the Saviour, asking him what the *Grecians* had resolved upon; he answered To-morrow, Lord, we march our Army to *Eleusis* and there give the Barbarians Battle according to the directions of the Oracle of *Apollo*; And that the God replied they were utterly mistaken, for that the places spoken of

by the Oracle were within the bounds of *Platæa*, and if they fought there they should find them. These things appearing plainly to *Arimnestus*, when he awoke, he sent for the most aged and experienced of his Country-men, with whom communicating and examining the matter, he found that near *Nysia* at the foot of Mount *Citheron*, there was a very ancient Temple called the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina* and *Proserpina*: therefore he forthwith took *Aristides* to the place, as being very convenient to embattel an Army of Foot, because the bottom of the Mountain *Citheron* rendred the Plain, where it cometh up to the Temple, inaccessible to those whose strength consisted in Cavalry. Also in the same place there was the Fane of *Androcrates* invironed with a thick shady Grove. And that the Oracle might be accomplished in all particulars for the hope of Victory, the *Platæans* decreed, *Arimnestus* motioning the thing, that the frontiers of their Countrey towards *Attica* should be removed, and the ground where the bounds were set given to the *Athenians* that they might fight in defence of *Greece* in their own proper Dominions. This liberality of the *Platæans* became so famous, that *Alexander* many years after having obtained the Dominion of all *Asia*, when he erected the Walls of *Platæa*, caused Proclamation

to be made by the Herald at the Olympick Games, that the King did the *Platæans* this favour in consideration of their good deed and magnanimity, because in the War with the *Medes* they freely gave their Land to the *Grecians*.

The *Tegeatæ* striving with the *Athenians* for place, demanded, That, according to custom, the *Lacedæmonians* being ranged in the right Wing of the Battel, they might have the left, alledging several things in commendation of their Ancestors. But the *Athenians* being moved to indignation, *Aristides* coming forth into the midst of them, To contend with the *Tegeatæ*, said he, for good Quality and Valor the present time permits not : but this we say to you, O you *Spartans*, and you the rest of the *Greeks*, that the place neither takes away nor contributes courage : But we shall endeavour by crediting and maintaining the Post you design us, to reflect no dishonour on our former performances. For we are come, not to differ with our Friends, but, fight our Enemies ; not to extol our Ancestors, but to behave our selves towards Greece as valiant Men : For as much as this Battel will manifest what esteem each City, Captain and private Souldier is to bear in the Opinion of the *Grecians*. This the Council of War hearing, applauded the *Athenians*, and gave them the other Wing of the Battel.

All

All Greece being in suspense, and especially the affairs of the *Athenians* unsettled, certain persons of great Families and Possessions, having been impoverished by the War, and seeing all their Authority and Reputation in the City vanished with their Wealth ; others being possessed of their Honours and Places, conven'd privately at a House in *Platæa* and conspired the dissolution of the Commonwealth. And if the Plot should not succeed, to ruin things, and betray all to the barbarous people. These matters being in agitation in the Camp, and many persons already corrupted ; *Aristides* perceiving the design, and dreading the present juncture of time, determined neither to let the business pass unanimatorly upon, nor yet totally to detect it, not knowing how many the Accusation might reach ; willing rather to set bounds to his Justice than the publick convenience. Therefore, of many that were concerned, he apprehended eight only, two of which, who were first proceeded against and most guilty (*Æschines* of *Lampra*, and *Agesias* of *Acharnæ*) made their escape out of the Camp. The rest he dismiss'd ; giving opportunity to such as thought themselves concealed to be bold and repent ; declaring that they had the War the great Tribunal to clear their guilt by manifesting their sincere

sincere and good intentions towards the Country.

After this *Mardonius* made Trial of the *Grecian* courage, by sending a very great number of Horse, wherein he thought himself much the stronger against them, who were all pitch'd at the foot of Mount *Citheron*, in strong and rocky places, except the *Megareans*. But they being three thousand in number were encamped on the plainer ground, by which means they were damaged by the Horse charging and making inroads upon them on all hands. They sent therefore in haste to *Pausanias*, demanding relief, as not being able alone to sustain the great numbers of the *Barbarians*. *Pausanias* hearing this, and perceiving the Tents of the *Megareans* already covered with a multitude of Darts and Arrows, and they contracted into a narrow space, was at a loss himself how to aid them with his Battalion of heavy-armed *Lacedæmonians*. But to the other Captains and Commanders about him, he proposed it as a subject of Emulation in Valour and Glory, if any would voluntarily take upon them the defence and succour of the *Megareans*. The rest being backward, *Aristides* undertook the enterprize for the *Athenians*, and sent *Olympiodorus* the most valiant of his inferiour Officers with three hundred chosen Men and some Archers under

under his Command. These persons being soon in readiness, and running upon the Enemy, as soon as *Masistius* who commanded the *Barbarians* Horse, a man of wonderful strength and extraordinary Bulk and comeliness of person, perceived it, turning his Steed he made towards them. And they sustaining the shock and joyning Battel with him, there was a sharp Conflict, as if by this Encounter they were to try the success of the whole War. But after *Masistius* his Horse being wounded with an Arrow, flung him, (and he falling could hardly raise himself through the weight of his Armour, and the *Athenians* pressing upon him with blows, was not without difficulty to be wounded, being armed compleatly with Gold, Brass, and Iron,) a certain person running him in at the Visour of his Helmet, slew him, and the rest of the *Persians*, leaving the Body, fled. The greatness of the *Grecians* success was known, not by the multitude of the slain (for an inconsiderable number were killed) but the sorrow the *Barbarians* express'd. For they shaved themselves, their Horses and Mules for the death of *Masistius*, and filled the Plain with howling and lamentation; having lost a Person who next to *Mardonius* himself, was by many degrees the Chief among them both for Valour and Authority.

After

After this skirmish of the Horse they kept from fighting a long time; for the Sophists by the Sacrifices foretold the Victory both to Greeks and Persians if they stood upon the defensive part only, but if the Aggressors the contrary. At length Mardonius when he had but a few days provision and the Grecian forces encreased continually by some or other that came in to them, impatient of delay determined to lie still no longer, but, passing Asopus by day break, to fall unexpectedly upon the Grecians, and signified the same over Night to the Captains of his Host. But about Midnight a certain Horseman stole into the Greek Camp, and coming to the Watch desired them to call Aristides the Athenian to him, who with speed obeying the Summons; *I am, said he, Alexander King of Macedonia, but am arrived here through the greatest danger in the World for the good will I bear you, lest a sudden Onset should so dismay you, that you behave your selves in the fight worse than usual. For to morrow Mardonius will give you Battel, not moved thereto by any hope of success or Courage, but want of Victuals. For the Prognosticators by their ill-aboding Sacrifices and Oracles prohibit him the Battel. And the Army is in great despair and Consternation; but necessity emboldens him*

to try his Fortune, or sit still and endure the last extremity of want. Alexander thus saying, entreated Aristides to take notice of and remember the same, and not reveal it to any other. But he told him, it was not convenient to conceal the matter from Pausanias (because he was General) but as for any other, he determined to keep it secret from them till such time as the Battel was fought; but if the Grecians obtained the Victory, that then no one should be ignorant of Alexander's good will and kindness towards them. After this, the King of Macedonia rode back again, and Aristides went to Pausanias his Pavilion and told him what had been said; and they sent for the rest of the Captains, and gave Orders that the Army should be in Battel Array.

Here (according to Herodotus) Pausanias spake to Aristides, desiring him to transfer his Athenians to the right Wing of the Army opposite to the Persians (for that they would do better service against them, having been experienc'd in their way of Combat, and embolden'd with their former Victories) and give him the left, where the Medizing Greeks were to make their Assault. The rest of the Athenian Captains therefore looked upon Pausanias as very unjust and arrogant, because permitting the rest of the Army to keep their stations, he removed them only from place to place like so many Slaves opposing them

to

to the greatest strength of the Enemy. *Aristides* said, they were altogether mistaken if they of late contended with the *Grecians* for the right Wing, and gloried in being preferred before them; but now when the *Lacedæmonians* give them place in the left, and yielded them in a manner the leading of the Army, they neither are contented with the honour that is done them, nor look on it as an advantage not to fight against their Countrymen and Kindred, but *Barbarians*, and such as were by nature their Enemies. Hereupon the *Athenians* very readily changed places with the *Lacedæmonians*, and there went a great talk amongst them as they were encouraging each other, that the Enemy approached with no better Arms or stouter Hearts than those who fought the Battel of Marathon; but had the same embroidered Coats and Gold upon their delicate Bodies and effeminate Minds: but we have the same Weapons and Bodies, and our Courage augmented by our Victories; and fight not like them * in defence of our Country only, but for the Trophies of Salamis and Marathon; that they may not be looked upon as due to *Miltiades* or Fortune, but the people of Athens. Thus therefore were they making haste to change the Order of their Battel. But the *Thebans* understanding it by their Fugitives, forthwith acquainted *Mar-*

* The *Lacedæmonians*

Mardonius; and he, either for fear of the *Athenians*, or a desire to engage the *Lacedæmonians*, marched over his *Persians* to the Right, and commanded the *Greeks* of his party to be posted opposite to the *Athenians*. But this Transposition being manifest, both *Pausanias*, wheeling about again, ranged himself in the Right, and *Mardonius*, as at first took the left Wing over against the *Lacedæmonians*. So the day passed without Action.

After this the *Grecians* determined in Council to remove their Camp something further, to possess themselves of a place convenient for watering, because the Springs near them were troubled and polluted by the *Barbarian* Cavalry. But Night being come, and the Captains marching towards the place designed for their encamping, the Souldiers were not very ready to follow, and keep in a Body, but as soon as they passed the first fortifications made towards the City of Platea, and a great Tumult was there caused by those who were dispersed, and pitched their Tents in disorder. The *Lacedæmonians*, though against their wills, had the fortune to be left by the rest. For *Amompharetus* a brave and daring Man, who being a long time before fired with a desire of the Fight, and ill resenting their many lings and delays, calling the removal of the Camp a meer run-

running away and flight, protested he would not desert his Post, but there to remain with his Company, and sustain the charge of *Mardonius*. And when *Pausanias* came to him and told him he did these things by the Votes and determinations of the *Grecians*, *Amompharetus* taking up a great stone and flinging it at *Pausanias* in his feet, and by this token, said he, do I give my suffrage for the Battel, not minding the cowardly Consultations and Decrees of other Men. *Pausanias* not knowing what to do in the present juncture sent to the *Athenians*, who were drawing off, to stay and accompany him; so he himself marched the rest of the Army to *Plateæ* to the intent to make *Amompharetus* move.

In the interim Day came upon them, and *Mardonius* (for he was not ignorant of the *Grecians* deserting their Camp) having his Army in Array, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* with great shouting and noise of the barbarous people, as if they were not about to joyn Battel, but spoil the *Greeks* in their flight. Which within a very little time came to pass. For *Pausanias* perceiving what was done made a halt, and commanded every one to put themselves in order for the Battel, but (either through his anger with *Amompharetus*, or the disturbance he was in by reason of the sudden approach of the Enemy)

forgot to give the *Grecians* the Word. Whence it was that they came not immediately, or in a body, to their assistance, but by small Companies and stragling when the Fight was already begun. [For *Pausanias*] offering Sacrifice, he found it not acceptable to the Gods, so commanded the *Lacedæmonians*, laying down their Shields at their feet to abide quietly and attend his directions, making no resistance to any of their Enemies. And offering a second time, as the Horse-charged, one of the *Lacedæmonians* was Atkinded. At this time also *Callicrates*, who, by report, was the most comely proper man in the Army, being shot with an Arrow and upon the point of expiring, said, that he lamented not his death (for he came from home to lay down his life in the defence of *Greece*) but that he died without Action. The case was hard, and wonderful the forbearance of the Men; for they Repelled not the Enemy that charged them, but expecting their opportunity from the Gods and their General, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks: some say, that *Pausanias* being at Sacrifice and prayers some space out of the Battel, that certain *Lydians* falling suddenly upon him plundered and squandered the Sacrifice. But that *Pausanias* and his Company having no Arms

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beat them with Staffs and Whips. When foreat this day in imitation of this Inval the whipping the boys about the in *Sparta*, and after that the *Lydim* cession is performed. *Pausanias* the being troubled at these things, the offering one Sacrifice after another, himself towards the Temple with his eyes, and lifting up his hands to ven, beseeched *Juno* of *Citheron* and the other tutelar Gods of the *Plataeans*, if not in the *Fatas* for the Grecians to the Victory, that it might perish, performing some remarkable thing, by their Actions demonstrating to their Enemies, that they engaged war with men of Courage and Skill. These Prayers of *Pausanias* being heard, he made his Supplications, the Sacrifice appeared propitious, and the Southayer foretold the Victory. The word being ven, the *Lacedæmonian* Battalion of seemed on the sudden like some one set Animal, setting up his Bristles and betaking himself to the Combat. Then it was the *Barbarians* considered they encountered with men who would fight it to the death wherefore holding their Targets before them they shot their Arrows amongst the *Lacedæmonians*. But they keeping together in the order of a Phalanx, and lying upon them, forced their Targets

of their hands, and smiting the breasts and faces of the *Persians* overthrew many of them, who fell not either unrevengeed or without courage. For taking hold of the Spears with their bare hands, they brake many of them, and betook themselves not in vain to Swords drawing, but making use of their Battel-Axes and Falchions, and wresting the *Lacedæmonians* Shields from them, and grappling with them, it was a long time that they made resistance.

In the mean time the *Athenians* stood still in expectation of the *Lacedæmonians*. But when they heard the noise of those that were engaged in the Fight, and a Messenger, as they say, came from *Pausanias* to advertise them of what was done, they soon spee'd to their assistance. And as they passed through the Plain to the place where the battle was, the *Greeks* who took part with the Enemy came upon them. But *Aristides* soon as he saw them going a considerable space before the rest, cried out to them, commanding them by the Guardian Gods of *Greece* to forbear the fight, and be no impediment to stop to them, who were succouring persons that fought in defence of *Greece*. But when he perceived they gave no attention to him, and had prepared themselves for the Battel, then turning from the present resolution (of the *Lacedæmonians*) he engaged them

being five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, for the *Barbarians* also were put to flight. The sharpest Conflict is said to have been against the *Thebans*, the chiefest and most powerful persons among them at that time fighting with the *Medes*, and leading the multitude not according to their own inclinations, but as being subjects of an Oligarchy. The Battel being thus divided, the *Lacedæmonians* first beat off the *Persians*; and a Spartan named *Arimnestus*, slew *Mardonius* by a blow on the head with a stone, as the Oracle in the Temple of *Amphiaraus*, foretold him. For *Mardonius* sent a *Lydian* thither, and another person a *Carian* to the Cave of *Trophonius*. This latter, the Priest of the Oracle answered in his own Language. But the *Lydian* sleeping in the Temple of *Amphiaraus*, it seemed unto him that a certain Minister of the Gods stood before him, and commanded him to be gone; but refusing to do it, he flung a great stone at his Head, so that he thought himself slain with the blow. In this manner are these things said to come to pass. But they * blocked up those that fled within their Walls Wood: and a little time after the *Athenians* put the *Thebans* to flight, killing three hundred of the chiefest and of greatest note among them in the Fight. For when the

* The Lacedæmonians.

began to fly, news came that the Army of the *Barbarians* was besieged within their Camps. So giving the *Greeks* opportunity to save themselves, they marched to assist them at the fortifications. And coming in to the *Lacedæmonians* who were altogether unhandy and unexperienced in Storming, they took the Camp with great slaughter of the Enemy; for of three hundred thousand, forty thousand onely are said to escape with *Artabazus*; but on the *Grecians* side there perished in all thirteen hundred and sixty: of which were fifty two *Athenians* all of the Tribe *Aiantis* that fought (saith *Cleodemus*) with the greatest courage of any, (wherefore those of that Tribe, according to the Oracle of *Apollo*, offered Sacrifice for the Victory to the Nymphs *Sphragitides* at the expence of the publick.) There were ninety one *Lacedæmonians* and sixteen *Tegeans*. It is strange therefore upon what grounds *Herodotus* saith, that they onely, and none other, encountred the Enemy; for the number of the slain and their Monuments testify that the Victory was obtained by all in general: and if the rest standing still, the Inhabitants of three Cities onely had been engaged in the fight, they would not have set this Inscription on an Altar.

*The Persians chas'd by valiant deeds of War,
This common Altar the freed Greeks did raise,
Sacred to Jupiter the Deliverer.*

* EUSTATHIUS.

August.

They fought this Battel on the fourth day of the Month *Boedromion*, according to the stile of the *Athenians*, but in that of the *Boeotians* the twenty seventh of *Panemus*; on which day there is still a Convention of the *Greeks* at *Platea*, and those of that place offer Sacrifice for the Victory to *Jupiter* the Deliverer. As for the difference of Days it is not to be wondered at, seeing at this time when there is a more accurate search made into matters relating to Astronomy, some make one some another beginning and ending of the Month.

After this the *Athenians*, not yielding the honour of the Day to the *Lacedaemonians*, nor consenting they should erect a Trophy, things were well nigh ruined by a dissention amongst the armed *Greeks*; had not *Aristides* by much soothing and counselling the Commanders, especially *Leocrates* and *Muronides*, pacified and persuaded them to leave the thing to the Decision of the *Grecians*. And they debating the matter; *Theogiton* the *Megarean* declared the honour of the Victory was to be

given

given some other City, if they would prevent a Civil War. After him *Cleocritus* of *Corinth* rising up, made people think he would ask the Palm for the *Corinthians* (for next to *Sparta* and *Athens* *Corinth* was in greatest estimation;) But he delivered his Opinion, which had the good liking and Admiration of all, in favour of the *Plataeans*; and counselled to take away all contention by giving them the Reward and glory of the Victory, whose being honoured could be disgusted by neither Party. This being said, first *Aristides* gave consent in the name of the *Athenians*, and *Pausanias* for the *Lacedaemonians*. So being reconciled, they set apart fourscore Talents for the *Plataeans*, wherewith they built a Temple and dedicated an Image to *Minerva*, and adorned the Temple with Pictures which even to this very day retain their Lustre. But the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians*, each erected a Trophy apart by themselves. Consulting the Oracle about offering of Sacrifice, *Apollo* answered, that they should dedicate an Altar to *Jupiter* the Deliverer, but not to sacrifice, till extinguishing the fire throughout the Country, as having been defiled by the *Barbarians*, they kindled unpolluted Fire at the Common Altar at *Delphos*. The Magistrates of *Greece* therefore went forthwith and compelled such

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as had Fire to put it out; and *Euclidas* *Plataean*, promising to fetch Fire, with all possible speed, from the Altar of the God, went to *Delphos*, and having sprinkled and purified his body, crowned himself with Laurel, and taking the fire from the Altar ran back to *Plateæ*, and returned before Sunset: performing the same day a Journey of a thousand Stadiums; but saluting his fellow Citizens, and delivering them the fire, he immediately fell down, and in a short time after expired. But the *Plataeans* taking him up interred him in the Temple of *Diana Euclia*, setting this Inscription over him,

Euclidas ran to Delphos and back again in one Day;

Many are of Opinion that *Euclia* is *Diana* and call her by that Name. But some say she was the Daughter of *Hercules* and *Myrto* the Daughter of *Menæti* and sister of *Patroclus*, who dying a Virgin was worshipped by the *Bæotians* and *Locrians*. Her Altar and Image are set up in all their Market-places, and those of both Sexes that are about Marrying, Sacrifice to her before the Nuptials.

A general Assembly of all the *Greeks* being called, *Aristides* proposed a Decree, that the Deputies of *Greece* and the Overseers

seers of things Holy might assemble annually at *Plateæ*, and every fifth Year celebrate the Games of Liberty. And that there should be a Levy upon all *Greece*, for the War against the *Barbarians*, of ten thousand Spearmen, one thousand Horse, and an hundred Sail of Ships; but the *Plataeans* to be exempt and sacred to the service of the Gods, offering Sacrifice for the wellfare of *Greece*. These things being ratified, the *Plataeans* undertook the performing an Annual Sacrifice to such as were slain and buried in that Place; which they still perform in this manner. On the sixteenth day of * *Maimacterion* (which * *septem-* with the *Bæotians* is *Alalcomenius*) they make their Procession, the which, beginning by break of Day, is led by a Trumpeter sounding a Point of War; then follow certain Chariots loaden with Myrrh and Garlands, and a black Bull: then come the young men of free Birth carrying Libations of Wine and Milk in large two-eared Vessels, and Jars of Oil and precious Ointments (for it is not permitted any of servile condition to have any hand in this Ministration, because the men died in defence of their Liberty) after all comes the chief Magistrate of *Plateæ* (for whom although it be unlawful at other times either to touch Iron or wear

wear any other coloured Garment but white) at that time apparell'd in a Purple Robe; and taking a Water-pot out of the City Chamber, proceeds, bearing a Sword in his Hand through the middle of the Town to the Sepulchres: Then drawing Water out of a Spring he washes and anoints the Pillars of the Monuments, and sacrificing the Bull upon a Pile of Wood, and making supplication to *Jupiter* and *Mercury* of the Earth, invites those Valiant Men who perished in the defence of *Greece* to the Banquet and Parentations; After this filling a Bowl with Wine, and pouring it out, he saith, *I drink to those persons who lost their lives for the liberty of Greece.* These Solemnities even to this day do the *Platæans* observe.

Aristides perceived that the *Athenians* after their return into the City endeavoured at a Democracy, and as well deeming the People worthy his care in consideration of their valiant behaviour, as also that it was a matter of difficulty, they being powerful and much conceited of their Victories, to deal with them by force, he makes a Proposal that every one might share in the Government, and Magistrates be chosen out of the whole body of the *Athenians*. *Themistocles* telling the People in Assembly that he had some Ad-

vice

vice for them, which was not to be given in Publick, but of great advantage and security to the City; they commanded *Aristides* onely to hear and consider of it with him. And he acquainting *Aristides* that his intent was to set fire on the *Grecian Fleet* (for by that means should the *Athenians* become most powerful and Lords of all) *Aristides* returning to the Assembly, told them, that nothing was more advantageous than what *Themistocles* designed, nor nothing more unjust; The *Athenians* hearing this, gave *Themistocles* order to desist; Such lovers of Justice were the People, and such Credit and confidence did they repose in this Man.

Being sent in joint Commission with *Cimon* to the Wars, he took notice that *Pausanias* and the other *Spartan* Captains were morose and crabbed to the Confederates, and by being himself gentle and courteous in his Conversation, and making *Cimon* agreeable and sociable in his Expeditions, he stole away the chief Command from the *Lacedæmonians* neither by Weapons, Ships, or Horses, but by his civility and good behaviour. For the *Athenians* being endeared to the *Grecians* by the justice of *Aristides* and *Cimon's* moderation, the Tyranny and Austerity of *Pausanias* rendered them yet more desirable: for he always discouraged

discourged the Commanders of the Confederates hastily and roughly, and the Common Souldiers he punished with stripes, standing, under the Iron Anchor for a whole day together, neither was it permitted any to provide straw for themselves to lie on, or forrage for their Horses, or come near the Springs to Water before the *Spartans* were furnished, but servants with Whips drove away such as approached. Concerning which things when *Aristides* once was about to expostulate with and reprimand *Pausanias*, he told him with an angry look that he was not at leisure, and gave no attention to him. Hereupon, both the Sea Captains and Commanders of the Land Army of the *Grecians* coming to *Aristides* perswaded him to be their General, and receive the Confederates into his Command who had long desired to relinquish the *Spartans* and come over to the *Athenians*. But he answered, that he saw both Equity and Necessity in what they said, but their fidelity stood in need of some Action, the performance of which might keep the multitude from changing their minds, *Uliades* the *Samian*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, conspiring together boarded *Pausanias* his Gally, getting her between them as she was sailing before the rest. But when *Pausanias* beholding them rose up, and furiously

furiously threatned soon to make them know that they had not attempted upon his Gally, but their own natural Countrey, they willed him to depart and thank Fortune that sought for him at *Plateæ*; for hitherto in reverence to that the *Grecians* did not inflict condign punishment upon him. In the end they revolted to the *Athenians*. And here the magnanimity of the *Lacedæmonians* was wonderful. For when they perceived that their Generals were corrupted by the greatness of their Authority, they voluntarily laid down the chief Command, and left off sending any more of them to the Wars, choosing rather to have Citizens of Moderation and perseverance in their Customs and Manners than to possess the Dominion of all *Greece*.

Now even during the Command of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Grecians* paid a certain Contribution towards the maintenance of the War; and being desirous to have all particular, Persons, Town by Town, rated their due proportion, they desired *Aristides* of the *Athenians*, and gave him Command, surveying the Countrey and Revenue, to Sesse every one according to their ability and what they were worth. But he being so largely impowered, *Greece* as it were permitting all her Affairs to his sole management, went out Poor, and returned Poorer; laying the Tax not onely without corruption and

and injustice, but with the good liking and convenience of all. For as the Ancients celebrated the age of *Saturn*; so did the Confederates of *Athens*, *Aristides* his Taxation terming it the happy Time of *Greece*, and that more especially, the same being in a short time doubled, and soon after trebled. For the Assessment which *Aristides* made was four hundred and sixty Talents. But to this *Pericles* added very near one third part more, for *Thucydides* saith, that in the beginning of the [*Peloponnesian*] War, the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates six hundred Talents. But after *Pericles* his death, the *Demagogues* encreasing by little and little, raised it to the sum of thirteen hundred Talents, not through the Wars being so expensive and chargeable, either in the length or ill success thereof, or by their exciting the people to *Large*sses, *Play* House-expences, and the erecting of Statues and Temples. *Aristides* therefore acquiring a wonderful and great Reputation by his levying the Tribute, *Themistocles* is said to deride him as if this were not the commendation of a Man but a Money-bag, making a dislike return to the free speech of *Aristides*. For he, when *Themistocles* once was saying, that he thought the chiefest Virtue of a General was to understand and fore-know the Measures the Enemy would take,

replied,

replied, This indeed, *Themistocles*, is necessary, but abstinence from bribes is an excellent thing and truly worthy a General.

Moreover, *Aristides* made all the people of *Greece* swear (to keep the League) and himself took the Oath in the name of the *Athenians*, flinging Wedges of red hot Iron into the Sea after Curses [pronounced against them that should make breach of their Vow.] But afterwards, it seems, when things were at such a pass as constrained them to govern with a stronger hand, he advised the *Athenians*, throwing the Perjury upon him, to manage Affairs as their convenience required. Upon the whole matter *Theophrastus* tells us, this Person was in his own private affairs, and those of his fellow Citizens nicely just, but that in publick matters he did many things according to the state and condition of his Country, as frequently requiring acts of injustice. It is reported of him, that he should say to one who was in debate whether he should convey the Treasure from *Delos* to *Athens* contrary to the League at the persuasion of the *Samians*, that the thing indeed was not just but expedient.

In fine, having established the Dominion of his City over so many people, he himself remained indigent; and always delighted as much in the glory of being Poor, as in

in that of his Trophies. And it is evident from this: *Callias* the Torch-bearer related to him: This Person his Enemies prosecuting in a Capital cause, when they had slightly argued the matters whereof they indicted him; thus, nothing to the point, bespoke the Judges: *You know, said they, Aristides the Son of Lyfimachus, who is the Admiration of all Greece: In what condition do you think his Family is in at his House, when you see him appear in publick in such a threadbare Cloak? Is it not probable therefore, that, not keeping the cold from him abroad, he wants food and other necessaries at home? yet this Man, though his Cousin-German, doth Callias the most wealthy of the Athenians take no care for, being with his Wife and Children in a necessitous condition; having made use of him in many cases, and often reaped advantage by his Interest with you.* But *Callias* perceiving the Judges were moved hereby, and exasperated against him, Subpoena'd *Aristides*, requiring him to testifie that when he frequently offered him divers presents, and entreated him to accept them, he refused, answering, *that it became him better to be proud of his Poverty than Callias of his Wealth: for there are many to be seen that make a good and bad use of Riches, but it is hard to meet with one who bravely suffers Poverty; but that they should be ashamed of it who* sustained

sustained it against their Wills. Aristides depoling these things in favour of *Callias*, there was none who heard them that went not away desirous rather to be Poor like *Aristides*, than Rich as *Callias*. Thus *Aeschines* the follower of *Socrates* writes. But *Plato* of all the great and renowned Men in the City of *Athens*, declares this person only worthy of consideration; for *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles* filled the City with Porticoes, Treasure, and many other vain things, but *Aristides* squared his Actions by the Rule of Justice. Great were the manifestations of his Moderation even towards *Themistocles* himself. For though he was his Adversary in all his undertakings, and the cause of his Banishment, when he afforded an opportunity of Revenge being accused to the City he bore him no malice; but *Alcmæon*, *Cimon*, and many others, Prosecuting and Impeaching him; *Aristides* only neither did nor said any ill against him, nor insulted over his Enemy in his Adversity, as he never envied him his Prosperity.

Some say *Aristides* died in *Pontus*, going by Sea upon the Affairs of the Public. Others that he died of Old Age at *Athens*, being in great Honour and Veneration amongst his fellow Citizens. But *Craterus* the *Lacedæmonian* speaks of his Death in this manner. After the Banishment of *Themistocles*

Themistocles, he saith, the people growing insolent, there arose a great number of Evidences, who impeaching the Nobility and principal men in the City, subjected them to the Envy of the multitude, swelled with their good fortune and Power. Amongst which *Aristides* was condemned of Bribery, upon the Accusation of *Diophantus* of *Amphitrope*, for taking Money from the *Ionians*, when he was Collector of the Tribute. But of this *Craterus* bringeth no written proof, neither the Sentence of his Condemnation, nor the decree of the People; though he is wont fairly to set down such things, and cite his Authors: almost all others who have discoursed of the miscarriages of the People towards their Generals, collect together and treat of the Banishment of *Themistocles*, *Themistocles* his Bonds, *Pericles* his Fine, and the death of *Paches* in the Judgment-Hall, who upon receiving Sentence, slew himself before the Tribunal, with many things of the like nature; and they add the Banishment of *Aristides*; but of this his condemnation they make no mention. Moreover, his Monument is to be seen at *Phalera*, which they say was built him by the City, and not leaving enough even to defray Funeral Charges. And Story saith, that his two Daughters were publicly married out of the *Prytaneum* or Common Treasury

by the City, decreeing each of them three hundred Drachma's for her Portion; But upon his Son *Lyfimachus* the people bestowed an hundred *Minæ* of Silver, and a Plantation of as many Acres of ground, and ordered him besides, upon the motion of *Alcibiades*, four Drachma's a day. Furthermore, *Lyfimachus* leaving a Daughter named *Policrite*, *Callicrates* saith, the People Voted her also the same provision of Corn with those that obtained the Victory in the Olympic Games. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, *Hieronymus* the *Rhodian*, *Aristoxenus* the Musician and *Aristotle* (if the Treatise of Nobility is to be reckoned among the genuine Pieces of *Aristotle*) say that *Myrto* *Aristides* his Grand-Daughter was married to the wise *Socrates* having another Wife, but taking her as remaining a Widow by reason of her Indigence, and wanting the necessaries of life. But *Panætius* sufficiently confuteth this in the Books he hath written concerning *Socrates*. And *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* in his *Socrates* saith, he knew one *Lyfimachus* Son to the Daughter of *Aristides* extremely necessitated, who sitting at a place called the *Jaccheum*, sustained himself by a Table to interpret Dreams, and that being the Author of the Decree induced the People to give his Mother and Aunt half a Drachma a Day. Moreover, the same

Demetrius saith, that reviewing the Laws he decreed each of these Women a Drachma a Day. And it is not to be wondred at, that the People of *Athens* should take such care of those that live in the City, since hearing the Grand-Daughter of *Aristogiton* was in a low condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so poor no body would marry her, they brought her back to *Athens*, and marrying her to a Person of great Quality, gave with her a Farm in the Borough of *Potam*, of which Bounty and Humanity this City of *Athens*, even in this our Age, giving divers Demonstrations is had in Admiration and celebrated deservedly.



*Labour and paine did Catoes yeares employ
The Country gave his youth an honest joy
Sometime wee little Villagers would see
And plead y^e poore mans cause without a fee*

(485)
THE
L I F E
OF
M A R C U S C A T O
THE
C E N S O R .

By Sir *John Litcott*, late Fellow of
King's Colledge in *Cambridge*.

Volume II.

Marcus Cato (as it is reported) was
born at *Tusculum*, though (till
he betook himself to Civil and
Military Affairs,) he liv'd and was bred
up in the Countrey of the *Sabines*, where
his Father's Estate lay. His Ancestours
I i 3 seeming

seeming to almost every one unknown, he himself is fain to praise his Father *Marcus* as a Worthy and Valiant Person, and *Cato* his great Grandfather too, as one who had often obtain'd the Military Prizes, and who, having lost five Horses under him, receiv'd, on the account of his Valour, the Worth of them out of the Publick Exchequer. Now it being the custome among the *Romans* to call those (who, having no lustre by Birth, made themselves Eminent by their own Worth) *Freshmen* or *Upstarts*, they call'd even *Cato* himself so, and so he confess'd himself to be, as to any publick Eminency or Employment, but yet asserted that in reference to the Exploits and Virtues of his Ancestours, he was very ancient. His third name formerly was not *Cato*, but *Priscus*, though afterwards he had the Sir-name of *Cato*, by reason of his great Abilities; for the *Romans* signify'd by *Cato* a Prudent or Experienc'd Man. He was of a Ruddy complexion, and grey ey'd, as he hints to us, who, with no good will, made the following Epigram upon him.

*Porcius, who snarls at all in every place,
With goggling grey eyes, and his fiery face,
Evn after Death, will not receiv'd be
By Proserpin, th' Infernal Deity.*

He

He contracted even from his Childhood a very good habit of Body by his Exercises, so that he seem'd to have an equal portion both of Health and Strength: But he exerted and us'd still his Eloquence through all the Neighbourhood and little Villages, it being as requisite as a second Body, and a necessary Organ to one who has great business. Nor wou'd he ever deny to be Council for those who needed him, and he was indeed early reckon'd a good Lawyer, and quickly after an Eminent Oratour.

Hence his Wisdome and depth of Capacity did appear more and more to those who us'd his Conversation, which Talents requir'd an Employment in the management of great Affairs, and those even of the *Roman* Commonwealth it self. Nor did he onely abstain from taking Fees for his Counsel and Pleading, but did not so much as affect the honour which proceeded from such kind of Combats, seeming much more desirous to signalize himself in the Camp and in real Fights; for being yet but a youth, his Breast was full of the scars he received from the Enemy; being (as he himself says) but seventeen years old when he made his first Campagne: About which time *Hannibal* burnt and pillag'd all *Italy*. In Engagements he wou'd use to strike lustily, without the least flinching stand

*scars
scars.*

Ii 4

firm

firm to his ground, with a fierce countenance stare upon his Enemies, and with a harsh threatening voice accost them. Nor was he out in his Opinion, whilst he taught, That such a rugged kind of Behaviour sometimes does strike the Enemy more than the Sword it self. In his Marches he bore his own Arms on foot, whilst one only Servant follow'd, to carry the Provisions for his Table, with whom he is said never to be angry or hasty whilst he made ready his Dinner or Supper, but wou'd for the most part, when he was free from Military Duty, assist and help him himself to dress it. Moreover, when he was with the Army, he us'd to drink onely Water; but, when thirsty he wou'd mingle it with a little Vinegar; or if he found his strength fail him, take a little Wine.

The little Countrey-house of *Marcus Curius*, who had been thrice carry'd in Triumph, happen'd to be near his Grounds; so that going thither often, and contemplating the small compass of the Place, and littleness of the Dwelling, he cou'd not but wonder at the mind of the Person, who being one of the greatest of the Romans, and having subdu'd the most War-like Nations, nay and driven *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, should himself after three Triumphs dig in so small a piece of ground,

ground, and live in such a kind of Cottage. Here it was that the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* finding him boiling of Turnips in the Chimney-corner, offer'd him a good present of Gold; but he sent them away with this Saying; *That He, whom such a Supper did suffice, had no need of Gold; and he thought it more honourable to conquer those who possess'd the Gold, than to possess the Gold it self.* Cato reflecting much upon these things, went his way, and reviewing his Farms, Servants and House-keeping; encreas'd his Labour, and retrench'd all superfluous Expences. МЕΛΙΧΟΡΤΗ.

When *Fabius Maximus* took *Tarentum*, Cato, being then but a youth, was a Soldier under him, and being lodg'd once with one *Nearchus* a *Pythagorean*, he desir'd to understand some of his Doctrine, so that hearing the man discourse of a few Sentences which *Plato* uses, as, *That Voluptuousness is the greatest Bait for Vice; The Body is the principal Calamity of the Soul; and that those Thoughts which do most separate and take it off from the Affections of the Body, do most enfranchise and purify it;* he indeed fell in love the more with Frugality and Temperance. Furthermore, He is said to have learn'd Greek late, and when he was pretty old; and

and that as to his Rhetorick, he profited a little by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demosthenes*: and indeed his Writings are handsomly mix'd both with Greek Sayings and Histories, nay many of them translated word for word, are interwoven with his own Apophthegmes and Sentences. Now there was a certain Nobleman, and one very powerful among the Romans, call'd *Valerius Flaccus*, who was wonderful skilful in discerning a budding Virtue, and also very much dispos'd to nourish and advance it: He, it seems, had Grounds bordering upon *Cato's*; nor cou'd he but admire, when he understood by his Servants the manner of his Living, how he labour'd with his own hands, went on foot betimes in the morning to the Pleading Courts to assist them who wanted his Counsel; how returning home again when it was Winter, he wou'd throw a little Jacket over his shoulders; but in the Summer-time work bare with his Domesticks, sit down with them, eat of the same Bread, and drink of the same Wine. Whilst they related also his other Affabilities, and great Moderation, together with some of his Wise Sayings; he order'd, That he shou'd be invited to him to Supper; from which time being well acquainted with his agreeable and facetious disposition, which,

like

like a Plant, seem'd to require cultivating, and to be grafted in a more eminent place: He did exhort and persuade him to apply himself to the study of State-Affairs at *Rome*. Thither therefore he went, and streight by his pleading got many Friends and Admirers; but *Valerius* chiefly promoting him to Honour and Power. He first of all got a Colonel's Place, and afterwards was made Questor or Treasurer. And now becoming eminent and noted *he ran with him through* the greatest Com-<sup>οὐκ ἐξ-
δεχάτο.</sup>mands, being first his Fellow-Consul, and then Censor. But among all the ancient Senatours, he did most keep company with *Fabius Maximus*; not so much for the honour of his Person, and greatness of his power, as that he might set before him his particular Worth and manner of life, as the best Examples to follow, whereupon *he made nothing* to oppose *Scipio* the Great, <sup>ὁ δὲν ἐπὶ τῇ
οὐτῇ.</sup>who being then but a young man, seem'd to envy and set himself against the Power of *Fabius*; for being sent together with him as Treasurer, when he saw him according to his natural custome make great Expences, and distribute among the Soldiers without sparing; he freely told him, That the Expence in it self was not the greatest thing to be considered, but that he corrupted the ancient Frugality, giving occasion

to

to the Souldiers to abandon themselves to unnecessary Pleasures and Pastimes: But *Scipio* answer'd; That he had no need of too accurate a Treasurer, for he resolv'd to go, as it were, full sail to the War, and that he ought to give the People an account of his Actions; and not of the money he spent. Hereupon *Cato* return'd from *Sicily*, and together with *Fabius*, made a huge noise in the open Senate against *Scipio's* lavishing of unspeakable Summs, and his childish loitering away his time in Wrestling-Matches and Comedies, as if he were not to make War, but Holy-day; so that he caus'd some of the Tribunes of the People to be sent to call him back to *Rome*, in case the Accusations shou'd prove true: But *Scipio* demonstrating as it were to them, an ensuing Victory, and appearing onely to live pleasantly with his Friends, when there was nothing else to doe, shewing also he was not by his Liberality the more negligent in things of consequence and moment, he forthwith set sail towards the War.

Now *Cato* grew more and more powerful by his Eloquence, so that most call'd him the *Roman Demosthenes*, but his manner of Life was yet more famous and talkt of; for Eloquence was as an Exercise commonly study'd and affected by all the Youth, but he was very rare who would endure

endure bodily Labour, a light Supper, and a Dinner which never saw the Fire; or be in love with a poor thin Garment, and a homely Lodging, nay and did more esteem a mind that wanted not great things, than the real possession of them: For now the State (unable to keep its Purity, by reason of its Greatness, and having so many Places and People from all Parts under its Government) was fain to receive many mix'd customs, and new fashions of living: With reason therefore did every body admire *Cato*, when they saw others sink under their Labours, and grow quite effeminate by Pleasures; and yet beheld him unconquer'd by either, and that not onely when he was young and desirous of Honour, but also when Old and Bald, after his Consulship and Triumphs. As a true Victour too in Wrestling, he wou'd persevere and carry on that Exercise to his very last. He himself also says, That he never wore a Garment which cost more than a hundred Drachms, and that when he was General and Consul, he drank the same Wine which his Workmen did; and that the Provision which was bought in the Market for his Dinner cost not (usually) above thirty Asses. Now all this was for the sake of the Commonwealth, that so his Body might be the more Robust and Hardy for the

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the War. Having a piece of the finest mixt *Babylonian* Tapestry left him, he sold it; for that none of his Countrey Houses were so much as Plaster'd. Nor did he ever buy a Slave for above 1500 Drachms, or seek for effeminate handsome ones, but able, sturdy Workmen, such as are Ostlers and Neat-herds: And these he thought ought to be sold again, when once they grew old; nor wou'd he allow them so much as Victuals, when they became useles. In short, He reckon'd nothing a good penn'oth, which was superfluous; but whatever it was, though sold for a farthing, he wou'd think it a great Price, if you had no need of it. He purchas'd also good Arable and Pasture-ground, rather than your well swept Gardens with their fine Water-works. Some did impute these things to the *ordid* Avarice of the Man, but others approve of him therein, as if he did onely the more strictly deny himself for the rectifying and amending of others: But for my part, I impute it to an unnatural temper, when a Person uses his Servants like brute Beasts, by turning off and selling them in their old Age, and thinks there ought to be no farther Commerce between man and man, than whilst there arises some profit thereby. Besides, we see that good Nature or Humanity has a larger Field than bare Justice

Justice to exercise it self in; for naturally indeed we are born to deal with men according to Law and Justice; but we may extend our Goodness and Charity even to irrational Creatures, and such Acts flow from a mild good nature, as Water from an exuberant Fountain; so that 'tis doubtless the part of a good natur'd man to keep even cast Horses and Dogs, and not onely take care of them when they are Foles and Whelps, but also when they are grown old. The *Athenians*, when they built their Hecatompodon, turn'd those Mules loose to feed freely, which they had observ'd to have undergone the greatest labour. One of these (they say) came once of it self to offer its service, and ran along with, nay and went before, the Teams which drew the Carriages up to the Castle, as if it would incite and encourage them to draw more stoutly; upon which there pass'd a Vote, That the poor Mule should be kept at the Publick Charge even till it dy'd. The Graves of *Cimon's* Horses, which won thrice the *Olimpian* Races, are yet to be seen next his own Monument. Old *Xantippus* too (as well as many others who buried the Dogs they had bred up) entomb'd his which swam after his Gally to *Salamina*, when the People fled from their City [*Athens*] on the top of a Cliff, which they call the Dog's

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Dog's Tomb to this day. Nor are we to use Living Creatures like old Shooes or Platters, and throw them away when they are worn out or broken with service; but if it were for nothing else but to express the respect we have for Humanity, a man ought always to shew himself in these things to be of a kind and sweet disposition. As to my self, I wou'd not so much as sell my Draught-Ox on the account of his Age, much less for a small piece of money sell a poor old man, and so chase him, as it were, from his own Countrey, by turning him not only out of the place where he has liv'd a long while, but also out of the manner of living he has been accusom'd to, and that more especially when he would be as useless to the buyer as to the seller. Yet *Cato* for all this glory'd that he left that very Horse in *Spain*, which he us'd in the Wars when he was Consul, onely, because he wou'd not put the Pub- to the charge of his Freight. Now whether these things are to be ascrib'd to the greatness or poorness of his spirit, let every one argue as they please: However as to the Temperance he himself us'd, he was really to be admir'd, it being beyond even the ordinary course of nature; for when he commanded the Army, he never took for himself, and those that belong'd to him, above three

three

three Bushels of Wheat for a Month, and about a Bushel, and a half a day for his Carriages and Horses: Nay when he enter'd upon the Government of *Sardinia*, though his Predecessors there us'd to require Tents, Bedding and Cloaths upon the publick account, and to charge them heavily by furnishing Provisions and Entertainments for a great Train of Servants and Friends; He, on the contrary, by his Frugality shew'd an incredible difference, for in nothing wanted he the Contribution of the Publick; nay he wou'd walk without a Coach to visit the Cities, and with one onely of the Common Town-Officers, who carry'd his Garment, and a Cup to offer Sacrifice in; yet though he seem'd thus easie and sparing to all who were under his Power, he, on the other hand, shew'd great severity and strictness, being always inflexible in what related to Publick Justice, and most upright and severe in what concern'd the Ordinances of the Common-wealth; so that the *Roman* Government, where he was, never seem'd more terrible, and yet more mild. Nay his very manner of speaking seem'd to have such a kind of Idea with it, for it was Courteous, and yet Grave; Pleasant and Piercing; Facetious and Austere; Sententious, and yet Pithy: And (as *Plato* says) he was like *Socrates*, who seem'd

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outwardly

outwardly to those about him to be but a simple, blunt and sullen Fellow; whilst at the bottom he was full of such Gravity and Matter, as wou'd even move Tears and touch the very Hearts of his Auditours. Wherefore I know not what has perswaded some to say, That *Cato's* Style was chiefly like that of *Lyfias*; however, let us leave those to judge of these things, who profess most to distinguish between the several kinds of *Roman* Styles; whilst we write down some of his memorable Sayings; being of the opinion with some others, That a Man's Parts appear much more by his Words, than Looks.

Being once desirous to dissuade the common people of *Rome* from their unseasonable and impetuous Clamour for Largesses and Distributions of Corn, he began thus to harangue them: 'Tis a difficult task, O Citizens, to make Speeches to the Belly, which has no Ears. Reproving also the ill managery of Affairs, he said, 'Twas hard to preserve that City, where a Fish was sold for more than an Ox. He had a Saying also, That the *Roman* People were like Sheep; for they, when single obey not; but when altogether in a Flock they follow their Leaders: So ye (said he) are guided by those got together in a Body, though singly you wou'd not use the Counsel of a man of em. Discourfing of the Power

of Women: All men, quoth he, usually command Women; We command all Men, and the Women command us. But this indeed is taken out of the Sayings of *Themistocles*, for he being in many things govern'd by his Son, by means of the Mother: Wife (says he) the Athenians govern the Greeks; I govern the Athenians, but thou govern'st me, and thy Son governs thee; wherefore pray let him use his Power sparingly, whereby as simple as he is, he can do more hurt than all the Athenians together. Another Saying of *Cato's* was, That the *Roman* People did not onely prize such and such Purple Dyes, but such and such Studies and Exercises also; For, said he, as Dyers do most of all dye such Colours which they see most agreeable, so the young men learn, and zealously affect what is most cry'd up. He did also exhort them. That if they were grown Great by their Vertue and Temperance, they should not change for the worse; but if by Intemperance and Vice they became Great, they should change for the better, for by that means they were grown indeed too too great. He would say likewise, That they who endeavour'd to have a share in the Government, ought like those who know not their way to go along with Beadles, who have long Sticks, lest they should go astray. He did also reprove the Citizens for chusing still the

same Governours; for ye will seem (said he) either not to esteem the Government worth much, or that many are not worthy to Govern. Speaking too of a certain Enemy of his, who liv'd a very base and discreditable life: *This Blade's Mother* (quoth he) *when she prays that he may survive her, is lookt upon rather to curse than to pray.* Pointing at one who had sold the Land which his Father had left him, lying near the Sea-side, *He made as if he wonder'd at him, being stronger even than the Sea it self; for what it washed away with a great deal of labour, he with a great deal of ease drank away.* When the Senate with a greet deal of splendour receiv'd King *Eumenes* at his entrance into *Rome*, and the chief Citizens strove who should be most about him; *Cato* seem'd only to stare upon, and watch him as it were at a distance. One that stood by too, took occasion to say, That he was a very good Prince, and a great Lover of the *Romans*; *It may be so,* (quoth *Cato*) *but by Nature that same Animal of a King, is a kind of Man-Eater.* Nor were there ever Kings so fortunate as to be compared with *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, *Themistocles*, *Marcus Curius*, or *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*. He us'd to say too, That his Enemies did envy him because he wou'd rise before day, and neglected his own

Business

Business to follow that of the Publick. He would also tell you, *That he had rather be deprived of the Reward for doing well, than not to suffer the Punishment for doing ill; and that he could pardon all Offenders but himself.* The *Romans* having sent three Ambassadors to *Bithynia*, of which one was *Gouty*, another had his Scull trepan'd, and the other seem'd little better than a Fool; *Cato* laughing, gave out, *That the Romans had sent an Embassy, which had neither Feet, Head nor Brains.* Being entreated by *Scipio*, on the account of *Polybius*, for those who were banished out of *Achaia*, and there happening to be a great Dispute in the Senate about it, some being for, and some against their Return; *Cato* standing up, thus deliver'd himself: *Here do we sit all day long, as if we had nothing to do but beat our brains whether these old Greeks should be carried to their Graves by the Bearers here, or by those in Achaia; But the Senate voting their Return, it seems that a few days after Polybius's Party did farther request, that it should be moved in the Senate, that the said Banished Persons should again receive the honours which they first had in Achaia, and to this purpose they founded Cato for his Opinion, but he smiling, answered, That Polybius, Ulysses-like, seem'd to have a mind to go back to*

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the Cyclop's Den, as having forgot his Cap and Belt behind him. He wou'd use to assert also, That wise Men profited more by Fools, than Fools by Wise Men; for that Wise Men would avoid the Faults of Fools; but that Fools would not imitate the good Examples of Wise Men. He would profess too, That he was more taken with young Men that blush'd, than with those who look'd pale; and that he never desir'd to have a Souldier that would use his hands too much in marching, and his feet too much in fighting; or snor'd lowder in his sleep, than he bellow'd in an Engagement: Intending to put-upon a huge fat Fellow; How (quoth he) can that Body be profitable to the Commonwealth, when all the space between the Throat and Groyn is taken up by the Belly? When one who was much given to Epicurism, desir'd his acquaintance, Begging his pardon (he said) He could not live with a Man whose Palate was of a quicker sense than his Heart or Brains. He would likewise say, That the Soul of a Lover liv'd in the Body of another; and that in his whole life he did most repent him of three things; One was, That he had trusted a Secret to a Woman; Another, That ever he went by Water when he might have gone on Foot; The third, That he had remained one whole day without doing any business

of moment. Applying himself to an old Man who was committing some Vice, *Honest man* (quoth he) *being old age has of it self Blemishes enough, do not you add to it the deformity of Vice.* Speaking to a Tribune, who was reputed a Poisoner, and was very violent for the bringing in of a Bill, in order to make a certain Law; *Young man* (cry'd he) *I know not which wou'd be better, to drink what you mix, or confirm what you wou'd put up for a Law.* Being revil'd by a Fellow who liv'd a profligate and wicked life; A Contest (reply'd he) is unequal between thee and me, for thou canst hear ill words easily, and canst as easily give them; but it is unpleasant to me to give such, and unusual to hear them: And this was his manner of expressing himself in his memorable sayings.

Now being chosen Consul, with his Friend and Acquaintance *Valerius Flaccus*, the Government of that part of Spain which the Romans call the *Interiour Spain*, fell to his Lot; Having overthrown the people hereabouts, some by force, and overcome others by good words, a great Army of *Barbarians* fell in upon him, so that there was danger of being disgracefully forc'd out again. Wherefore he call'd upon his then neighbours the *Celtibrians* for help; but they demanding Two hundred Talents for their Auxiliaries, eve-

ry body made as if it were intollerable that ever the *Romans* should promise *Barbarians* a Reward for their Assistance ; but *Cato* said, There was no discredit or harm in it ; for if they overcame, they would pay them out of the Enemies Purse, and not out of their own ; but if they were overcome, there would be no body left to demand the said Reward. But he stoutly won that Battel, and after that, all his other affairs succeeded splendidly ; for *Polybius* says, That by his command the Walls of all the Cities, on this side the River *Bætis*, were in one days time demolished, and yet there were a great many of them full of stout and warlike men. *Cato* himself says, That he took more Cities than he stay'd days in *Spain*. Neither is this a Rhodomantado, if it be true, that the number was Four hundred. Now though the Soldiers themselves had gotten much in the fights, yet he distributed a pound of silver to every man of them, saying, *It was better, that many of the Romans should return home with Silver, rather than but a few with Gold.*

But he affirms, That of all the things that were taken, nothing came to him besides what he ate and drank. Neither do I find fault (continu'd he) with those that seek to get by these spoils, but I had rather strive with the Best for Valour's sake, than for Wealth with

with the Richest, or with the most covetous for love of Money. Nor did he only keep himself clear from taking any thing, but even all those who more *immediately* belong'd to him.

Now he had five servants with him in the Army ; one of them, called *Paccus*, bought three Boys, out of those who were taken Captive ; which *Cato* coming to understand, the poor fellow, rather than he would venture into his presence, hang'd himself, so that *Cato* again sold the said Boys, and carried the Price he got for them into the publick Exchequer.

Scipio the Great being his enemy, and desiring, whilst he carry'd all things so successfully, to obstruct him, and take the affairs of *Spain* into his own hands, accordingly brought about his own ends, so as to be appointed his Successour in the Government, making therefore all possible haste he put an end to *Cato's* Authority ; but he, taking with him a Convoy of five Companies of Foot, and five hundred Horse to attend him home, overthrew by the way the *Lacetanians*, and taking from them six hundred Deserters, he caus'd them all to be beheaded ; Upon which *Scipio* seem'd to be in Indignation, but *Cato* smiling, said, *Thus Rome would become great indeed, if the most honourable and great men would not yield up the first Place of Valour to those who were more obscure*

secure, and when they who were of the Commonality (as he himself was) would contend in valour with those who were most eminent in Birth and Honour. Now the Senate having voted to change nothing of what had been establish'd by Cato, that Government pass'd away under Scipio to no manner of purpose, in idleness and doing nothing; and so diminish'd his credit much more than Cato's. Nor did Cato, even after he had triumph'd, remit, and slacken the Reins of Vertue, as many of those do, who strive not so much for Vertue's sake, as Vain-Glory; and having attain'd the highest Honours, as the Consulship and Triumphs, pass the rest of their Life in Pleasure and Idleness, and so quit all affairs relating to the Publick. But he, like those who are just got into Office, and thirst after Honour and Glory, would stretch himself, as if he were but just setting out; and offering still publickly his service to his Friends and Citizens, he wou'd give over neither his pleadings or Souldiery. He did also as an Ambassadour accompany and assist Tiberius Sempronius, when he went into Tracia and Istria; and in quality of a Colonel went along with Manlius Aquilius into Greece, against Antiochus the Great, who, after Hannibal, did more than any one strike terrour into the Romans; for ha-

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ing taken as much of Asia as Seleucus Nicanor possessed, and having brought under his obedience many and warlike Nations of the Barbarians, he long'd to fall upon the Romans, as if they onely were now worthy to fight with him: So on he came with his Forces, pretending as a specious Cause of the War, that it was to free the Grecians, who had indeed no need thereof, they having been but newly deliver'd from the power of King Philip and the Macedonians, and made Masters of their own Laws, and that by the goodness even of the Romans themselves; so that hereupon all Greece was in a Commotion and elevated, having been corrupted by the mighty hopes which the Governours of their Cities put them into. Manlius therefore sent Ambassadors to the said Cities, and Titus Flaminius (as it is written among the Affairs concerning him) did compose and quiet most of the Attempts of the Innovatours, and that without any trouble. Cato did also suppress the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the Ægians, and spent too a good deal of time at Athens. There is also an Oration of his said to be extant, which he spoke in Greek to the people, and wherein he highly commended the Vertue of the ancient Athenians, and signified, that he came with a great deal of pleasure to be

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a spectatour of the Beauty and Greatness of their City. But this is not true; for he spoke to the *Athenians* by an Interpreter, though he was able to have spoken himself; but his intention thereby was to keep up the Fashion of his own Countrey, and as it were scornfully laugh at those who admired nothing but what was in *Greek*. Wherefore jesting upon *Posthumus Albinus*, who had written a *Greek History*, and begg'd pardon for doing so, he said, *Pardon indeed ought to have been given him had he not undertook the Work by the Votes or Order of the Amphictyones*. The *Athenians*, they say, did admire the quickness and celerity of his Speech, for an Interpreter wou'd be very long a repeating what he expressed with a great deal of brevity. In short, he made them believe, that the words of the *Greeks* came onely from their Lips, whilst those of the *Romans* came from their Hearts.

Now *Antiochus* having guarded with his Army the narrow passages about the Mountains, called *Thermopylae*, and added Trenches and Walls to the natural Fortifications of the place, sat down there thinking he had done enough to divert the War from thence, so that the *Romans* seem'd wholly to despair of forcing the Passage; but *Cato* calling to mind the Compass and Circuit which the *Persians* had

had formerly made to come at this place, went forth in the night, taking along with him part of his Army; after which, whilst they were climbing up, the Guide who was a prisoner went out of his way, and wandring up and down by unpassable and crooked paths, struck the Souldiers with a terrible fear and consternation. *Cato* perceiving the danger commanded all the rest to halt, and stay where they were, whilst he himself, taking along with him one *Lucius Manlius*, a wonderful man at climbing of Mountains, went forward with a great deal of labour and danger, in the dark night, and without the least Moon-shine, over the wild Olive-Trees, and steep craggy Rocks, there being (as has been hinted) nothing but Precipices, and darkness before their eyes, till they fell into a little pass which they thought might lead down into the Enemies Camp; There they put up marks upon some of the most conspicuous tops which hung over the Mountain *Callidromus*, so that returning again they led the Army along with them to the said Marks, till they got into their little Path again, and there once made a halt; but when they began to go farther, the Path did (as it were) leave them, and a great Precipice seem'd to receive them, and put them in another strait and fear; nor did

did they perceive all this while that they were near the Enemy. And now the day began to give some light, when they seem'd to hear a noise, and presently after to see the *Greek* Trenches and Guard at the foot of the Rock. Here therefore *Cato* staid his Forces, and commanded the *Firmians* onely without the rest to stick by him, for them he had found always faithful and ready, and streight they stood round him at their close order, whilst he thus spoke to them. I desire (said he) to take one of the Enemy alive, that so I may understand what kind of Blades they are who guard the Passage; their number; and with what Discipline, Order and Preparation they expect us: but to bring about this Feat (continu'd he) you must snap him with a great deal of quickness and boldness, such as the courageous Lyons use, when unarm'd they fall upon the timorous Beasts. *Cato* had no sooner thus express'd himself, but the *Firmians* forthwith rush'd down the Mountains, and that in the very posture they were in upon the Guard, so falling unexpectedly in upon them, they frighted and dissipated them all; one armed man too they took, and brought to *Cato*, who quickly learned from him, That the rest of the Forces lay in the narrow Passage about the King; That those who kept the

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tops of the Rocks were Six hundred choice *Aetolians*; Now *Cato* despising the smallness of their number and carelessness, forthwith drawing his sword, fell upon them with a great noise of Trumpets and shouting. The Enemy perceiving them thus tumbling as it were upon them from the Precipices, flew to their *Main Guard*, and put all things into Disorder. In the mean time whilst *Manlius* was forcing the Works below, and pouring the thickest of his Forces into the narrow Passages, *Antiochus* was hit in the mouth with a stone, so that his teeth being beaten out thereby, he felt such excessive pain, that he was fain to turn tail with his Horse; nor did any part of their Army stand the shock of the *Romans*.

Now though there seem'd no hopes of fight by reason of the inaccessible ways and By-paths, as also of the deep Marishes and steep Rocks, which look'd as if they were ready to receive those who shou'd tumble down; the *Athenians* nevertheless crowding and pressing together in the strait Passages, destroy'd even one another whilst they seem'd afraid of the Swords and Blows of the Enemy. *Cato* (as it plainly appears) was never oversparing of his own Praises, and seldom shunn'd boasting of any Exploit, which quality

quality indeed seems much to accompany great Actions, and with any such kind of Actions he was indeed usually puff't up; nay, he wou'd say, That those who saw him pursue and slay his Enemies, stickt not to assert, That *Cato* ow'd not so much to the Publick, as the Publick did to *Cato*: nay, and adds, that *Manlius* the Consul, coming hot from the Fight, embrac'd him for a great while, when all over in a sweat, then cry'd out with a deal of joy, That neither he himself, no, nor all the People together could make him Recompences equal to his great Actions. After the Fight he was sent to *Rome*, that he himself might be the Messenger of it; so that with a favourable Wind he sail'd to *Brundisium*, and in one day got from thence to *Tarentum*; and having travell'd four days more, upon the sixth, counting from the time he came from Sea, arriv'd at *Rome*, and so he himself brought the first news of the Victory; whereby he fill'd the whole City with Joy and Sacrifices; and the People with an opinion, that they were able to conquer both Sea and Land.

Now these are almost all the Eminent Actions of *Cato*, relating to military Affairs; but as to Civil Policy, he was of opinion, that a great part of it ought to be employ'd in accusing and enditing Malefactours; for he himself did prosecute many, and would

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also assist others who prosecuted them likewise; nay would even procure such, as he did *Petilius's* Party against *Scipio*; but not being able to destroy him, by reason of the greatness of his Family, and the integrity of his mind, he at last wou'd meddle no more with him, yet joining with the Accusers against his Brother *Lucius*, he cast him in a great sum which was forfeited to the Publick; but he being insolvent, and in danger of being thrown into Goal, was by a Petition to the Tribunes of the People with much ado, dismiss'd. 'Tis also said of *Cato*, that when he met a certain youth, who had with disgrace overthrown one of his Father's Enemies, walking in the Market-place; He shak'd him by the hand, telling him, That we ought to sacrifice to our dead Parents, not Lambs and Goats, but the Tears and Muls of our Adversaries. But neither did he himself scape scot-free in his Managery of Affairs; for if he gave his Enemies but the least Hold, he was still in danger, and ready to be brought to Justice, for he is reported to have escap'd at least 50 Enditements; and one above the rest, which was the last, when he was fourscore and six years old, about which time, he had this remarkable Saying, *That it was hard for him who had liv'd contemporary with others a great while ago, to plead now before a new Race of Men.*

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Neither did he make this the last of his Law-suits, for four years after, when he was fourscore and ten, he accus'd *Servilius Galba*: So that he arriv'd [we see, as *Tor* did] to three usual Ages of Man, that in continual Action, for [as is of him] having had several Suits *Scipio* the Great, about Affairs of *Spain* he stretch'd them down even to *Scipio* younger, who was his adopted Grandfather and the Son of that *Paulus*, who overthrew *Perseus* and the *Macedonians*. Now *Cato*, ten years after his Consulship, put up for the Office of Censor, which was indeed the Top of all Honour, and in manner the highest step in Civil Affairs; for besides all other Power, it had that of an *Inquisition* into any ones and Manners; for the *Romans* thought that not so much as a Marriage, or nights lodging for the Procreation of Children, nay not a Feast or Drinking about ought to be permitted according to ev'ry ones Appetite or Fancy, without being censur'd and enquir'd into; but therefore of opinion, That a Man's honour was much sooner perceiv'd in the kind of things, than in what is done *secretly and in open day*, they chose two sons; one out of the *Patricians*, the other out of the *Commons*, who were to watch

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correct and punish, if any one ran too much after Voluptuousness, or transgress'd the usual manner of living in the place where he was: And these they called *Censors*. They had power to take away a Horse, or expel out of the Senate any one who liv'd intemperately and out of order. 'Twas also their business to take an estimate of what every one was worth, and to put down in Registers every bodies Birth and Quality: The said Office had also many other Prerogatives, wherefore the chief Nobility oppos'd his Pretensions to it; for Emulation vex'd the *Patricians*, who thought that it wou'd be stain to every bodies Nobility, when men of no honour originally shou'd rise to the highest Dignity and Power. Others, conscious of their own evil Practices, with the Violation of the Laws and Customs of their own Countrey, were afraid of the Authority of the Man; which, when he was in Power, was very uneasy and inexorable. Wherefore consulting among themselves, they set up in opposition to *Cato*, seven Competitours, who with obsequious flatters and fair hopes sooth'd the People, which seem'd desirous of such a kind of Magistracy, which would govern gently, and serve their Pleasures: Now *Cato* on the contrary promising no such mildness, but openly threatning evil Livers, from

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the very speaking Desk he thus express'd himself, and cry'd out, That the City wanted great Reformation, therefore persuaded the people, if they were wise, not to chuse one of the gentlest, but roughest of Physicians; and that such a one he was; and *Valerius Flaccus*, one of the *Patricians*, another, so that, together with him, he doubted not (he said) but he should do something worth the while, and that by cutting to pieces and burning like a Hydra, all Luxury and Voluptuousness. He added too, That he saw all the rest endeavouring after the Office with ill intent, because they were afraid of those who would exercise it justly, as they ought. Upon this occasion the People of *Rome* did really express themselves Great, and worthy also of great Officers shewing, that they fear'd not the severity and grim countenance of *Cato*, for rejecting those soothing Blades who seem'd to do all things to ingratiate themselves, they took him, together with *Flaccus*; nay forthwith hearken'd to, and obey'd him, not as one who stood for the Place, but as if he had the actual power of Commanding and Governing already.

By these means [I say] he put down the name of this his friend *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* to be his Collegue in that Office, and threw out of the Senate (among several others

Lucius

Lucius Quintus, who had been Consul seven years before, and (which was greater honour to him than the Consulship) Brother to that *Titus Flaminius*, who overthrew King *Philip*. Now the reason he had for the Expulsion was this; *Lucius* it seems took along with him a youth, whom he had kept always as a Minion from the very flower of his Age, and to whom he gave as much power and respect as to the chiefest of his friends and Domesticks.

Now it happen'd that *Lucius* being Governor of one of the chief Provinces, the youth clapping himself down by him, as he us'd to do, among other Flatteries with which he did easily turn and wind him, when he was in his Cups, he thus express'd himself; I love you so dearly (quoth he) that though there was a prize to be seen of the Gladiators at home [viz. *Rome*] of which nature I never beheld one in my life; and though I, as 'twere long'd to see a Man kill'd, yet did I make all possible haste to come to you. Upon this, *Lucius* mutually caressing him, reply'd, Pray thee sit not so melancholy, for that longing of yours *I will cure*: Ordering therefore forthwith one of those condemned to dye to be brought to the Feast, together with the Heads-man and Axe: He askt his Paramour, if now he desired to see the fellow executed? The Boy answering that

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he did: *Lucius* commanded the Executioner to cut off his Neck; and this several Historians mention; nay *Cicero* himself in his Dialogue *de Senectute* brings in *Cato* expressing the same thing; but *Livy* says, That he that was kill'd was a French Renegade, and that *Lucius* did not execute him by the stroke of the Publick Executioner, but even with his own hand. And all this is written in a Speech of *Cato's*. Now *Lucius* being thus expelled out of the Senate by *Cato*, his Brother took it very ill, and addressing himself to the People, desir'd that *Cato* shou'd declare how the said Execution was; which when he began to relate, and bring in the Transactions of the Feast, *Lucius*, with lifted up hands, endeavour'd to deny it; but *Cato* calling him to his Oath, he fell off and refus'd it, so that he was then acknowledg'd to suffer deservedly. Afterwards when there was some show at the Theatre, he pass'd by the seat, where those who had been Consuls us'd to be plac'd, and sat a great way off, whereby he mov'd Compassion in the common people, who presently with a great noise made him go on forward, and so as much as possibly they cou'd did set right and salve what had happen'd. *Manilius* also, who according to the publick vogue, wou'd have been next Consul, he threw out of the Senate, and that because

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in the presence of his Daughter, and in open day he was a little too sweet upon his own Wife. He wou'd use to say too, That his Wife never hugg'd him so close as when there was a great Thunder; therefore when he had a mind to rally, he wou'd add, That he was happy when *Jupiter* thunder'd. *Lucius* likewise, the Brother of *Scipio*, and one who had been honour'd vvith a Triumph, occasion'd some Envy against *Cato* for taking his Horse from him, and seeming to do it vvith a design of putting an affront on *Scipio Africanus*; but most of all he chock'd the people, by retrenching from their Luxury, though (most of the youth being thereby already corrupted) it seem'd almost impossible to take it away vvith an open hand and directly; vvherefore going, as it were, obliquely round the hedge, he caus'd all Victuals, Voitures, Womens Apparel, Utensils of Housevvifery, whose price exceeded a Thousand and five hundred Drachms, to be rated at ten times as much as they vvere vvorth; intending by thus making the said Rates greater, to make greater also the publick Tributes. He did also ordain, that for ev'ry thousand Asses, three shou'd be paid; so that they vvho vvere press'd vvith these Taxes (and savv others, of as good Estates, more frugal and sparing, pay less into the publick Exchequer) shou'd be tyr'd out of their

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prodigality. Hereby, on the one side, not only they were disgusted at *Cato* who bore the Taxes for the sake of their Luxury, but those too who on the other side lay'd by their Luxury for fear of the Taxes; for the common people reckon, That an Order not to shew their Riches, is equivalent to the taking away their Riches; because Riches are seen much more in superfluous, than in necessary things, though this made *Aristotle* the Philosopher, much wonder that we shoud account them who possess'd superfluous things more happy than those who abounded with what was necessary and useful. In troth, reply'd he, in these unuseful and unnecessary things am I happy and rich. Thus the ardent desire of Riches, proceeds not from any natural Passion within us, but arises rather from some vulgar and extrinseck opinion. *Cato* notwithstanding being little solicitous as to those who exclaim'd against him, grew more stiff in his Austerity: He therefore caus'd the Pipes, through which some persons brought the publick Water into their own Houses and Gardens to be cut, and threw down all the Porches which jetted out into the common streets. He beat down also the price of publick Works, and, on the other side, rais'd the Imposts on all things that were sold; by which proceedings he contracted a great deal of hatred

hatred to himself. Now those who were of *Titus Flaminius's* Cabal, vacated in open Council all the Bargains and Contracts made by him for the repairing and carrying on of the sacred and publick Buildings, as bringing no profit to the Commonwealth: They did incite also the boldest of the Tribunes of the people to accuse him to the Rabble, and to fine him two Talents. They did likewise very much oppose him in building the Palace which he caus'd to be erected at the common charge, just by the Senate-house, in the Market-place, and call'd it by his own name, *Porcia* House. However the people it seems did like his Censourship wondrous well, for setting up a Statue for him in the Temple of the Goddess of Health, they put an Inscription under it, not of his War-like Feats and Triumphs, but such as one as signify'd, *That this was Cato the Censour, who by his good Discipline and Ordinances reclaim'd the Roman Common-wealth when it was declining and supinely tumbling into Vice.*

Now before this Statue-honour was done to himself, he us'd to laugh at those who lov'd such kind of things, saying, They were not sensible that they glory'd chiefly in the Workmanship of Engravers and Painters, but that the Citizens bore about his fairest Image in their Breasts. When any seem'd to wonder

wonder at him, that he should have never a Statue, when many ordinary persons have one; I wou'd (said he) much rather be asked why I have not one, than why I have one. In short, He would not have any honest Citizen endure to be prais'd, except it might prove advantageous to the Common-wealth; yet still he most of all commended himself; for he would often intimate, that they who were of an ill life, and found fault with, us'd to say, *It was not so great a feat to blame them, for they pretended not all to be Cato's.* He wou'd also add, *That they who did awkwardly mimick some of his Actions, were called left-handed Cato's;* and that the Senate in most perillous times wou'd cast their eyes on him, as upon a Pilot in a Ship, and that often when he was not present wou'd they put off Affairs of greatest consequence. These things are indeed too testify'd of him by others; for he had a great Authority in the City, both for his Life, Eloquence and Age. He was also a good Father, an excellent Husband to his Wife, and an extraordinary Oeconomist; nor did he manage all these his Affairs carelessly, and as things of little moment. Wherefore I think I ought to run over a little farther, whatever was commendable in him.

He marry'd a Wife more noble than rich; being of opinion nevertheless, that both of them

them so qualify'd are usually haughty and proud: but yet that those of noble blood, wou'd be more asham'd of base things, and consequently more obedient to their Husbands in all that was fit and handsome for them. Him that beat his Wife or Child, he esteem'd as one that laid violent hands on what was most sacred; and a good Husband he reckon'd worthy of more Praise than a great Senatour; wherefore he did in nothing more admire old *Socrates*, than that with a scolding Wife and block-headed Children, he liv'd contented and quiet.

As soon as ever his Son was born, though he had never such urgent business upon his hands, (if it related not to the Publick) he wou'd be by when his Wife did unswaddle and wash it; for she her self suckled it, nay did often too give her Breast to her Servants Children, to beget by sucking the same Milk a kind of natural Love in them to her Son. Now when he began to come to years of Discretion, *Cato* himself would teach him his Book, although he had a Servant, a very honest fellow and a good Grammarian, called *Chilo*, who also taught a good many others; but he thought not fit, as he himself said, to have his Son reprimanded by a Servant; or pull'd it may be, by the Ears when found tardy in his Lesson: Nor wou'd he have him owe to a Servant the

the obligation of so great a thing as his Learning; wherefore he himself (as we were saying) taught him Grammar, Law and Fencing: Nor did he only shew him too how to throw a Dart, to fight with other Arms, and to Ride, but even to play at Fifty-cuffs, to endure both heat and cold, and to swim over the most rapid and rough Rivers. He says likewise, that he wrote Histories, in great Characters, with his own hand, that so his Son without stirring out of the House, might learn the Experience and vertuous Exploits of his Forefathers: Nor did he less abstain from speaking any thing obscene before his Son, than if it had been in the presence of those sacred Virgins, which we call *Vestals*: Nor would he ever go into the *Bagno* with him, which seems to be according to the common custome of the *Romans*; for Sons-in-Law avoided still bathing with Fathers-in-Law, being ashamed to see one another naked: But having in time learn'd of the *Greeks* to strip with the Men, they have since taught the *Greeks* to doe it even with the Women themselves.

Thus *Cato* form'd and fashion'd his Son to Vertuous Inclinations, who was not to be found fault with as to his spritfulness; but being of too weak a constitution for hardships, he requir'd not of him any austere or hard way of living.

However

However, though he was thus tender and delicate, he prov'd a stout man in the Field, and valiantly behav'd himself when *Paulus Æmilius* fought against *Perseus*, where when his Sword was struck from him by a blow, or rather slipt out of his hand by reason of the moistness thereof; He so far resented it, that he turned to some of his friends about him, and taking them along with him again fell upon the Enemy; and having by a long Fight and much force clear'd the place at length found it among great heaps of Arms, and the dead Bodies of his Friends as well as Enemies pil'd one upon another. Whereupon *Paulus* the Governour very much recommended the youth; and there is even a Letter of *Cato's* to his Son, which does very highly praise this his honourable Exploit and Prowess for the Recovery only of his Sword. Afterwards he married, *Tertia Paulus Æmilius's* Daughter, and Sister to *Scipio*; nor did he match into this Family less for his own Worth than his Father's, so that *Cato's* care in his Sons Education had an effect suitable. He purchas'd still a great many Slaves out of the Captives taken in War, but chiefly he bought up the young ones, who were capable to be (as it were) broken and taught like little Whelps and Colts; but none of these ever went into another man's house, except sent either by *Cato* himself.

himself or his Wife. If any one of them were ask'd what *Cato* did; they answer'd, Nothing that they knew of. When a Servant was at home, he was oblig'd either to do some work, or sleep; for indeed *Cato* lov'd those most, who us'd to lye down often to take a nap, accounting them more docile than those who sat up much, and more fit for any thing when they were refresh'd with a little slumber. Being also of an opinion, that Servants would take the greatest pains imaginable to satisfy their Veneries; he set a certain price to be paid by those who consorted with his Bondwomen, but wou'd suffer none to be concern'd with any others abroad. At first when he was but a poor Souldier, he wou'd not be difficult in any thing which related to his Diet, but look'd upon it as a pitiful matter to quarrel with a Servant for the sake of his own belly; but afterwards, when he grew richer, and made any Feasts for his Friends and Comrades, presently when Supper was done, would he with a *Leathern Thong* scourge those who had waited and dress'd the meat carelessly. He always contriv'd too, that his Servants should have some difference one among another, always suspecting and fearing a good Understanding between 'em. Now those who had committed any thing worthy of Death, he accordingly punish'd if in the opinion of their Fellow-servants they

they were found guilty. But being after all much given to an extravagant desire of Gain, he lookt upon Agriculture rather as a pleasure than Profit; resolving therefore to lay out his money in lasting and solid things, he purchas'd Ponds, Hot baths, Grounds full of fallow Earth, Pastures and Wood, whereby a great Revenue flow'd in unto him, and such a one (he us'd to say) as *Jupiter* himself cou'd not hurt. He was also given to a most blameable Usury in his Traffick by Sea; and that thus: He would that those whom he put out his money to, shou'd have many Partners; now when the number of them and their Ships came to be Fifty, he himself wou'd put in but one share; for which *Quintion*, whom he had made a Freeman, and who traded and sail'd along with the said Adventurers, was to be his Factor; so that thus there was no danger of losing his whole stock, but onely a little part, and that with a prospect of great profit. He likewise lent money to those of his Slaves, who would borrow any, with which they bought also other young ones, whom, when they had taught and bred up at his Charges, they wou'd sell again at the years end; but some of them *Cato* wou'd keep for himself, giving just as much for them as another had offer'd. To incline his Son to be of this kind of Temper, he wou'd use to say, *That it was not like a solid man*

to lessen an Estate, but rather like a weak Widow. But a farther Argument of *Cato's* aversive humour, was, when he took the boldness to affirm, That he was a most wonderful man, who left more behind him than he received.

He was now grown old, when *Carneades* the Academick, and *Diogenes* the Stoick came Ambassadors from *Athens* to *Rome*, with request of releasing a Fine of 500 Talents layd on the *Athenians*; in which the *Oropians* were Plaintiffs, and the *Sicyonians* Judges. Now all the most studious Youths straight waited on the old Gentlemen, and frequently with admiration, heard them speak: But the Greatness of *Carneades* his Oratory (which had greatest force, and was not inferiour to the Fame of it) (especially when he had a great and good natur'd Auditory) fill'd like a sudden Wind, all the City with the sound of it; so that it soon flew about, that a *Grecian*, famous even to Admiration, winning upon, and carrying all before him, had impress'd so strange a Love upon the young men, that quitting all their Pleasures and Pastimes, they ran mad, as it were, after Philosophy, which indeed did much please all the *Romans* in general; nor could they but with much pleasure see the Youth receive so welcomely the Greek Literature, and frequent the company of these Learned

Learned men: But *Cato* on the other side, seeing this same Zeal for the Greek flowing into the City, did, from the beginning, take it in dudgeon, fearing lest the youth shou'd be diverted that way, and so prefer the Glory of Speaking well before that of Arms, and Doing well: Now when the Fame of these Philosophers encreas'd in the City, and *Caius Aquilius*, one of the principal Senatours, at his own Request became their Interpreter, *Cato* resolv'd under some specious pretence to have all Philosophers sent packing out of the City; and coming into the Senate, did, as it were, accuse the Magistrates, That the Ambassadors stay'd a long time without being dispatch'd, they being persons that cou'd easily persuade the People to what they pleas'd; that therefore in all haste something should be concluded as to their Embassy; that so being sent home again to their own Schools, they might declaim to the *Grecian* Children, and the *Roman* Youth, might, as they formerly did, be obedient to their own Laws and Governours. Yet this he did not out of any anger (as some think) to *Carneades*; but because he wholly despis'd Philosophy, and out of a kind of Pride, scoff'd at the *Greek* Muses and Literature; for indeed he wou'd use to say, That *Socrates* was a prating seditious fellow, and endeavour'd by all means possible to

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tyran-

ἐνθυσιῶσι
περὶ φιλο-
σοφίας.

τῶν δὲ
σφραγίδων.

tyrannize over his Countrey, to violate the ancient Customs, and to entice and withdraw the Citizens to Opinions contrary to the Laws; then scoffing at *Socrates's* School, he wou'd add, That his Scholars grew soold before they had done Learning with him, as if they were to use their Art and plead Causes in the next World; and to fright his Son from any thing that was Greek, he us'd a much harsher tone than was usual with one of his age, pronouncing, as it were, with the voice of an Oracle, *That the Romans wou'd certainly be destroy'd when they began once to be infected with Greek*, though time shew'd the Vanity of this his way-ward Saying; for in truth, the City of *Rome* grew never greater than when they entertain'd the *Grecian* Learning; nor had he an aversion onely against the *Grecian* Philosophers, but the Physicians also, for having it seems heard, how *Hippocrates* shou'd say, when the King of *Persia* sent for him, and would have feed him even with several Talents; *That he wou'd never assist Barbarians, who were Enemies to the Grecians*; he affirm'd, that this was now become a common Oath to be taken by all Physicians, and so enjoind his Son to have a care and avoid them; for that he himself had written a little Treatise; whereby he gave Prescriptions, and cur'd those who were sick in his Family; that he never en-

join'd

join'd Fasting to any one, but order'd them a little Duck, Pigeon or Levret, such kind of Diet being of light digestion, and fit for sick folks, onely it made those who eat it, rave and dream a little too much; and by the use of this kind of Physick, he wou'd tell them, he did not onely make those about him well, but kept them so: However, for this his presumptuous bragging, he seem'd not to escape *unreveng'd*; for he lost both his Wife and his Son, though he himself being of a strong robust constitution, held out longer, so that he would often, even in his old days, make use of Women, nay when he was past a Lover's Age, he married a young Woman, and that upon this pretence: You must know, that having lost his own Wife, he married his Son to the Daughter of *Paulus Æmilius*, who was Sister to *Scipio*; so that being now a Widower himself, he made use of a small Girl, who came privately to him; but the House being very little, and a Daughter-in-law also in it, the Intrigue was quickly discover'd; for the young wench seeming once to pass by a little too boldly to *Cato's* Bed-chamber, the youth, his Son, though he said nothing, seem'd to look a little grim upon her; the old man perceiving it a little offensive, without finding any fault, or saying a word, away he goes, as his custome was, vvith his usual company to the

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Market:

Market: Among the rest, he call'd aloud to one *Salonius*, a Clerk of his, and ask'd him whether he had marry'd his Daughter? He answer'd no, nor wou'd not, till he had consulted him: Quoth *Cato*, then by *Jove* I have found out a fit Son-in-law for thee, if he may not displease by reason of his Age, for in all other things there is no fault to be found in him: but he is indeed, as I said, a little Old. However, *Salonius* streight desir'd him to undertake the business, and to give the Virgin to whom he pleas'd, she being an humble servant of his, and one who stood in need of his Care and Patronage: Upon this *Cato*, without any more ado, told him, he desir'd to have the Damofel himself. These words did (as you may well imagine) at first astonish the fellow, conceiving that *Cato* was as far off from marrying, as he from a likelihood of being ally'd to the Family of one who had been Consul, and triumph'd; but perceiving him in earnest, he took hold of it vvolingly; and going onwards to Market, they quickly struck up the match.

Now whilst this same Marriage was in hand, *Cato's* Son taking some of his friends along with him, vent and askt his Father for what offence he brought in a Mother-in-law upon him? but *Cato* presently cry'd out, Soft and fair, good Son, what thou doest is agreeable enough to me, nor do I find any fault with

with it; onely I desire to have many Children, and to leave the Commonwealt more such Citizens as thou art. *Pisistratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, made, they say, such a kind of Answer to his Sons, vvhhen they vvere grown men, and vvhhen he marry'd his second Wife *Timonassa* of *Argos*, by vvhom he had (as is reported also) *Jophon* and *Thessalus*. Now *Cato* had a Son by this same second Venter, to vvhom from his Mother, he gave the Sir-name of *Salonius*; in the mean time his eldest dy'd in his Pretorship, of vvhom *Cato* makes often mention in his Books, as having been a very good man: Howver, he is said to have born the Loss moderately, and like a Philosopher, and that he vvas never the more remiss in minding Affairs of State; so that he did not, as *Lucius Lucullus* and *Metellus* did, aftervards grow languid in his old Age under the burthen of Publick business, looking still upon that as a sacred ^{δαιμόνιον} duty incumbent upon him.

Nor did he, as *Scipio Africanus* had done before, vvhobecause Envy had struck at his Glory, turn'd from the Publick, and so chang'd and pass'd avway the rest of his Life vvhithout doing any thing. But as one perswaded *Dionysius*, that the most honourable Tomb he could have, wou'd be to dye in the exercise of his Dominion; so he thought that Age to be the most honourable, vvhich vvas

busied in publick Affairs, though he would now and then, when he had leisure, recreate himself with Husbandry and Writing; and indeed he compos'd several Books and Histories, nay in his youth addicted himself to Agriculture, and that for Profit's sake; for he us'd to say, he had but two ways of getting by, *Agriculture* and *Parfimony*; the first of which gave him, in his old Age, both Pleasure and Contemplation. One Book he wrote of Countrey-affairs, in which he treated particularly of making Cakes, and preserving Fruit; being emulous to be excellent, and singular in all things. His Suppers at his Countrey-house us'd also to be plentiful, for he daily invited his Friends and Neighbours about him, and pass'd away the time merrily with them; so that his company was not onely agreeable to those of the same Age, but even to the younger Fry; for he had experience in a great many things, and had been concern'd in much Business and Conversation worth ones hearing. He lookt upon a good Table, for the most part, to be fittest to make Friends with, where the Commendations of brave and good Commonwealths-men was usually introduc'd, but not a word of base and ill ones; for *Cato* would not give leave in his company to have either good or ill spoken of such kind of men.

Some will have the Overthrow of *Carthage* to

to have been one of his last Feats of State, when indeed *Scipio* the younger did by his Valour give it the Necking-blow, though indeed chiefly by the Counsel and Advice of *Cato*. The War happen'd upon this occasion, *Cato* was sent to the *Carthaginians* and *Massanissa*, King of *Numidia*, who were at War with one another, to know the cause of their difference. He, it seems was a Friend of the *Romans* from the beginning; and they too, since they were conquer'd by *Scipio*, were their Confederates, and kept in awe by taking away their Dominion, and laying a heavy Tax upon them. Now he finding *Carthage*, not (as the *Romans* thought) low and in an ill condition, but well mann'd, full of Riches, all sorts of Arms and Ammunition, and perceiving the *Carthaginians* thereupon carry it high, he conceiv'd that the *Romans* had not time to adjust Affairs between them and *Massanissa*, but rather that they themselves would fall into danger, except they kept under that same City, which had of old been an Enemy, and still bore a grudge to *Rome*, and grew incredibly stronger and stronger: Wherefore returning quickly to *Rome*, he acquainted the Senate, That the former Defeats and Blows given to the *Carthaginians*, had not so much diminish'd their Strength, as it had abated their Imprudence and Folly;

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that

that they were not become weaker, but more experienc'd in War, and did onely skirmish with the *Numidians*, to exercise themselves the better to cope with the *Romans*: That the Peace and League they had made was but a kind of Suspension of Arms, till they expected a fairer opportunity to break again. Moreover they say, That shaking his Gown, he took occasion to let drop some *Africk Figs* before the Senate. Now they admiring the bigness and fairness of them, he presently added, *That the Plate that bore them was but three days sail from Rome*; Nay, he never after this gave his Opinion; but at the end he wou'd be sure to come out with this Sentence, **CARTHAGE METHINKS OUGHT UTTERLY TO BE DESTROY'D.** But *P. Scipio Nasica* wou'd always declare his opinion to the contrary, in these words, *It seems requisite to me that Carthage should still stand.* Now *P. Scipio* seeing the *Romans* very haughty, and by reason of their prosperity, growing obstinate and disobedient to the Senate; as also drawing the whole City whither they wou'd after them. He wou'd have had the Fear of *Carthage* to serve as a Bit to hold in the Contumacy of the Multitude; for though he look't upon the *Carthaginians* too weak to overcome the *Romans*, yet he thought them too Great to be despis'd. On the other side, it seem'd a dangerous thing

thing to *Cato*, that a City which had been always great, and was now grown sober and wise by reason of its former Calamities, shou'd still lie as it were upon the Catch with the *Romans*, who were now become wanton and faulty by reason of their Power; so that he thought it the wisest course to have all outward dangers remov'd when they had so many inward ones among themselves.

Thus *Cato* (they say) stirr'd up the third and last War against the *Carthaginians*: But no sooner was the said War begun, but he dy'd, prophecyng of the Person that should put an End to it (viz. *Scipio* the second) who was then but a young man; but being a Colonel, he in several Fights gave proof of his Courage and Conduct. The news of which being brought to *Cato's* Ears at *Rome*, he thus express'd himself.

*He onely breathes courageously,
Whilst others like swift shadows fly.*

This same Prophecy *Scipio* soon confirm'd by his Actions. In fine, *Cato* left no Posterity, besides one Son, by his second Wife, who was nam'd (as we said) *Cato Saloni*; and a little Grandson by his Eldest Son, who dy'd. *Cato Saloni* dy'd when he was *Prætor*, but his Son *Marcus* was afterwards

wards Consul, and Grand-father of that
Cato the Philosopher, who for Vertue and
 Renown was one of the most Eminent Per-
 sonages of his time.

THE
 COMPARISON
 OF
 A R I S T I D E S
 With
 M A R C U S C A T O .

By *Edward Blount*, Esquire.

THE

HAVING mention'd the most Memora-
 ble Actions of these Great Men, if
 the whole Life of this be compar'd with
 that of the other, it will not be easie to di-
 scern the difference between them, being
 involv'd under so many like circumstances,
 by which they resemble each other ; But
 if we examine them a-part, as we should
 consider a piece of Poetry, or some Pi-
 cture, we shall find this common to them
 both, that they advanc'd themselves to
 great

A Measure
containing
six Bushels.

ἐν τῇ πόλει
οὐκ οὐκ ἀπὸ
νέου ἀπὸ
οὐκ

The differ-
ence be-
tween their
Adversar-
ies.

great Honour and Dignity in the Commonwealth, by no other means than their own virtue and industry: But it seems when *Aristides* appear'd, *Athens* was not in its grandeur and plenty, the chief Magistrates and Officers of his time being Men only of moderate and equal fortunes among themselves: The estimate of the greatest Estates then, was 500 Medimns; The second of Knights 300; The third and last, called *Zeugitæ*, 200. But *Cato* out of a petty Village from a Country life, leapt into the Commonwealth, as it were into a vast Ocean; at a time when there were no such Governours as the *Curii*, *Fabricii*, and *Hostilii*: Poor labouring Men were not then advanc'd from the Plough and Spade to be Governours and Magistrates; but greatness of Families, Riches, profuse Gifts, large Distributions among the People, Ambition and Power were the only things regarded, keeping a high hand, and in a manner *insulting* over those that courted them for Preferment: It was not equal to have *Themistocles* for an Adversary, a Person of mean extraction, and small Fortune, (for he was not worth, as it's said, more than four or five Talents when he first apply'd himself to Publick affairs) and to contest with *Scipio Africanus*, *Sergeus Galba* and *Quintius Flaminius*, having no other aid but a Tongue free to assert

right:

right: Besides *Aristides* at *Marathon*, and again at *Plateæ*, was but the tenth Commander; whereas *Cato* was chosen second Consul, having many Competitours, and was prefer'd before seven most Noble and Eminent pretenders to be second Censor too: But *Aristides* was never Principal in any Action, for *Miltiades* carried the day at *Marathon*, at *Salamis* *Themistocles*, and at *Plateæ*, *Herodotus* tells us, *Pausanias* got the glory of that Noble Victory; Moreover *Sophanes*, and *Aminias Callimachus*, and *Cynægyrus* behav'd themselves so well in all those Engagements, that they contended with *Aristides* even for second place.

Now *Cato* not only in his Consulship was esteem'd as Chief for Courage and Conduct, but even whilst he was onely Colonel at *Thermopylas*, under another's Command, he gain'd the glory of the Victory, for having, as it were, open'd a large Gate for the *Romans* to rush in upon *Antiochus*, and brought War on his back, whilst he onely minded what was before him: For that Victory, which was beyond dispute all *Cato's* own work, clear'd *Greece* of *Asia*, and by that means made way thither afterwards for *Scipio*: Both of them indeed were always Victorious in War; but at home *Aristides* stumbled, being banish'd and oppress'd by the faction of *Themistocles*; yet *Cato*, notwithstanding

Cato always esteem'd for his Courage and Conduct.

Aristides supplanted by *Themistocles*.

withstanding he had almost all the chief and most powerful of Rome his Adversaries, and wrastled with them even to his old age, kept still his footing; engag'd also in many publick Suits, sometimes Plaintiff, sometimes Defendant; he cast the most, and came off clear with all; thanks to his Eloquence, that bulwark and powerful instrument of life, to which more truly, than to chance or his fortune, he ow'd, that he sustain'd his Dignity to the last: for *Antipater* gives this high commendation to *Aristotle* the Philosopher, writing of him after his death, That among his other Vertues, he was endow'd with a faculty of persuading people which way he pleas'd; questionless there is no perfecter endowment in man than Politicks, whereof Oeconomicks is commonly esteem'd not the least part; for a City which is a Collection of private houses, grows into a Commonwealth by the particular manners of the Citizens that compound it. Also *Licurgus* prohibiting Gold and Silver in *Sparta*, made the Citizens money of Iron spoil'd by the fire, did not discharge them from minding their household Affairs, but cutting off Luxury, the corruption and tumour of riches, he provided there should be an abundant supply of all necessary and useful things for all persons, as much as any other Lawmaker ever did; always being more apprehensive

apprehensive of a poor, needy, and indigent Citizen, than of one that was rich and haughty: And truly *Cato* seem'd no less wise in the management of domestick concerns, than in the government of publick affairs; for he increas'd his Estate, and became a Master to others in Oeconomy and Husbandry; concerning which he collected in his Writings many useful things: But on the contrary, *Aristides* by his poverty made Justice odious, as if it were the Pest and Impoverisher of a family, and more beneficial to all, rather than those that were indow'd with it; yet *Hesiod* said many things to exhort us both to Justice, and a care of our own private concerns, and inveighs against idleness as the Origine of injustice; and *Homer* excellently sung,

Cato's excellent husbandry.

Aristides an ill manager of his own private concern.

ἔργον δὲ μοι ἐὶ φίλον ἔσταν
οὐδ' οἰκωφάλην, ἥ τε τέρεος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἄλλὰ μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπὶ γαῖᾳ φίλαι ἦσαν,
καὶ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἀκονίς εὐχέσσοι, καὶ οὔρεα.

Vid. Homer in his 14 Odyss.

——— *I lov'd not Work,
Nor house affairs, or breeding up fine boys,
But well rig'd Ships were always my delight
And Wars, keen Darts and Arrows——*

As if those were alike that carelessly imbezled their own Estates, and who liv'd by Rapine; for it is not as the Physicians say of Oil; that

that outwardly apply'd it's very wholesome; but taken inwardly very destructive; so a just man provides carefully for others, and is heedless of himself and his own affairs: but in this *Aristides's* Politicks seem'd to be defective; for (as most say) he took no care to leave his Daughters a Portion, or himself enough to defray his Funeral-charges: whereas *Cato's* family produc'd Senatours and Generals to the fourth generation, for his grandchildren and their Children came to the highest preferments: But *Aristides*, who was the principal man of *Greece*, through extream poverty reduced some of his to get their living by shewing Juglars-tricks, others for want, to hold out their hands for publick Alms; leaving none means to perform any noble Action, or worthy his Dignity: But why must this needs follow? for poverty is dishonourable not in it self, but when it is a sign of laziness, intemperance, luxury and carelessness; yet in a person that is temperate, industrious, just and valiant, employ'd in publick affairs, furnish'd with all manner of Vertues, it shews a great and lofty mind; for he is unfit for great matters, who concerns himself with petty ones; nor can he relieve many needy, who himself needs many. But the main inablement to serve the Publick is not wealth, but a self-sufficiency; which vertue requiring no superfluity at home, distracts not the

mind from the Commonwealth : For God is
entirely exempt from all want : of humane
Vertues, that which needs least, is the most
absolute and most divine : For as a Body bred
to a good habit, requires no exquisite, either
cloaths or food ; so a man and a sound house
keep themselves up with a small matter. Now
Riches ought to be proportion'd to the use
we have of them ; for he that scrapes toge-
ther a great deal, making use of but little,
is not content ; but vvwhether he vvants them
not, he is vain in preparing those things he
relishes not ; or if he doth relish them, and re-
strains his enjoyment out of sordidness, he is
miserable : I would fain know of *Cato* himself,
if we therefore seek riches, that we may enjoy
them ; why doth he boast in that having a
great deal, he is contented with little ? But
if it be noble, as it is, to feed on course Bread,
and drink the same Wine with our Hinds, and
not to covet Purple and *Plaister'd Houses*, nei-
ther *Aristides* nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Manius*
Curius, nor *Caius Fabricius* wanted necessaries ;
who took no pains to get those things whose
use they approv'd not ; for it was not worth
his while who esteem'd Turnips a most
delicate food, and who boil'd them him-
self, whilst his Wife bak'd the Bread, to
brag so often of a half-peny, and write how
a man may soonest grow rich ; for its a
vast good to be contented with very little ;
N n because

because at once it cuts off the desire and care of superfluities : Therefore they say *Aristides* thus deliver'd himself in *Callias's* case ; It is for them to blush at poverty, who are poor against their wills, they, who like him, are willingly so, may glory in it ; for it is ridiculous to think *Aristides's* neediness imputable to his sloth, who might handsomely enough by the spoil of one *Barbarian*, or seizing one Tent, have become wealthy : But enough of this.

Moreover *Cato's* Expeditions added no great matter to the *Roman* Empire, which already was so great, as in a manner it could receive no addition ; but those of *Aristides* are the noblest, most splendid and prime actions the *Grecians* ever did, viz. the Battles at *Maratha*, *Salamis* and *Plateæ* : Nor indeed is *Antiochus*, nor the Walls of the *Spanish* Towns demolish'd at the cost of innumerable Legions both by Land and Sea, to be compar'd with *Xerxes* ; in all which noble exploits *Aristides* yielded to none but he left the Glory, the Laurels, the Wealth and Money to those who needed and thirsted more greedily after them for that he was above all those things I don't blame *Cato* for perpetually boasting and preferring himself before all others, though in one of his Orations he says, It's equally absurd to praise and

dispraise

dispraise ones self : yet he seems to me more perfectly vertuous, who doth not so much as desire others praises, than he who is always extolling himself ; for a mind free from Ambition is a main help to Meekness : Ambition, on the contrary, is rough, and the greatest fomentor of Envy, from which *Aristides* was wholly exempt, *Cato* very subject to it ; for *Aristides* assisted *Themistocles* in matters of highest importance, and as his Officer, in a manner, rais'd

Ambition
odious in a
Common-
wealth.

Athens : *Cato*, by opposing *Scipio*, almost broke and defeated his expedition against the *Carthaginians*, in which he overthrew *Hannibal*, who till then was even invincible ; and at last by raising always some suspicions and calumnies or other of him, he chac'd him from the City, and basely condemn'd his Brother for robbing the State : Finally that temperance which *Cato* always highly cry'd up, *Aristides* preserv'd truly pure and untainted : But *Cato's* Marriage unbecoming his Dignity and Age, drew upon him no slight or improbable aspersions ; for it was not at all decent for him at that age to bring home to his Son and his Wife, a young woman, the Daughter of an Apparitour, and one that work'd publickly for wages : But whether he did this out of Lust or Anger, to be reveng'd of his Son,

Cato's
worst allu-
sions reckon'd
up.

Cato's se-
cond marri-
age con-
demn'd.

Did my
ἐρασμ
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ς ὕδρ.

for his Harlots sake, both the fact and the pretence were unhandſome; for the reaſon he pretended to his Son was falſe: for if he deſir'd to get more as worthy Children, he ought to have married ſome Perſon of Quality, and one well look'd on from the beginning, not to forbear as long as he could conceal his keeping her a Miſs; and when it was diſcover'd, to chuſe ſuch a Father-in-law as was eaſieſt to be got, inſtead of one whoſe affinity might be a credit to him.

The End of the Comparison of Ariſtides with Marcus Cato, the Cenſor.

PHILOPÆMEN.



(549)

THE
L I F E
O F
P H I L O P O E M E N .

Translated out of the Greek,
By *Thomas Short*, M. D.

Volume II.

C *Affander* was a Man of great quality and power in the City of *Mantineæ*, but by the revolution of Fortune happened to be driven from thence. There being an intimate friendship betwixt him and *Crausis*, the Father of *Philopæmen*, who was a Person of extraordinary Worth ; he settled at *Me-*
galopolis, where while his friend lived, he had all he could desire. When *Crausis* dyed, he repay'd the Father's hospitable kindness

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in

in the care of the Orphan-Sons; by which means *Philopæmen* was Educated by him, as *Homer* says *Achilles* was by *Phœnix*, and from his Infancy moulded to great and vertuous Inclinations. But *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes* had the principal tuition of him, after he was past the years of Childhood. They were both *Megalopolitans*; who had been Scholars in the Academick Philosophy, and friends to *Arsefilaus*, and above all men of their time, apply'd Learning to Action, and State-Affairs. They had freed their Countrey from slavery, by the death of *Aristodemus*, whom they caus'd to be kill'd: They had assisted *Aratus* in driving out the Tyrant *Nicocles* from *Sycione*; and at the request of the *Cyreneans*, where the Publick was in much confusion, went thither by Sea, instituted for them excellent Laws, and settled their Commonwealth in exact Discipline. Of all their Actions, they most valu'd the Education of *Philopæmen*, thinking they had done a general good to *Greece*, by training him to so much Worth. And indeed all *Greece* (which lookt upon him as a kind of latter brood, brought forth, after so many famous Captains in her decrepit age,) lov'd him wonderfully; and as his Glory grew, increas'd his Power. A certain *Roman*, to praise him, calls him *the last of the Grecians*; as if after him *Greece* had produc'd no great man, nor who deserv'd the name of *Grecian*.

His

His Person was not, as some fancy, deform'd; for his Statue is yet to be seen at *Delphos*. As for the mistake of the Hostess of *Megara*, they say it was occasioned by the meanness of his habit, the homeliness of his garb, and the easie plainness of his conversation. This Hostess having word brought her that the General of the *Achæans* was coming to her House in the absence of her Husband, was all in a hurry about providing of his Supper. *Philopæmen*, in a thread-bare unfashionable Cloak, arriving in this point of time, she took him for one of his own train, and pray'd him to lend her his hand in her Household-work: He presently threw off his Cloak, and fell to Cleaving of Logs: The Husband returning, and catching him at it, Why, what, says he, may this mean, my Lord. *Philopæmen*? I am, reply'd he in his *Dorick* dialect: paying the fine of my deformity and ungraceful presence. *Flaminius* seeming to rally the fashion of his body, told him one day, he had well-shap'd hands and feet, but no belly: And he was indeed slender in the waste. But this railery was meant to the poverty of his fortune; for he had good Horse and Foot, but often wanted money to entertain and pay them. And these pleasant stories go about of *Philopæmen*.

As he was insatiably covetous of honour, his conditions were somewhat rough and cho-

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lerick,

lerick, and not altogether free from censure. He strove to be like *Epaminondas*, and came not much behind him in Valour, good conduct and uncorruptible integrity: But his boiling contentious humour not suffering him in civil Contests, to keep within the bounds of gravity, sweetness and obliging condescendence, he was thought more proper for the Camp than for the City; for he was strongly inclin'd to War, even from his childhood, he both studied and practis'd things belonging to it, taking great delight in managing of Horses, and handling of Weapons. Because he was naturally dispos'd for Wrestling, his Friends and Tutors perswaded him to bestow some pains that way. But he would first be satisfy'd whether it would not hinder him from becoming a Souldier. They told him, as it was, that the one was directly opposite to the other, their ways of living, and exercises quite different: the Wrestler sleeping much, and feeding plentifully, punctually regular in his set-times of exercise and rest, and apt to spoil all by every little excess, or breach of his usual method; whereas the Souldier by all variety of irregular changes was, to bring himself to endure hunger, and watching without difficulty. *Philopæmen* hearing this, not onely laid by all thoughts of Wrestling and contemn'd it then, but when

he

he came to be General, discourag'd it by all marks of reproach and infamy he could imagine, as a thing which made men, otherwise excellently fit for War, to be utterly useless and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When he left off his Masters and Governours, and began to bear Arms in the incurSIONS which his Citizens us'd to make upon the *Lacedemonians* for pillage or sudden surprizes, he would always march out the first, and return the last. When there was nothing to doe, he sought to harden his body, and make it strong and active by hunting or labouring in his ground: For he had a good Estate about 20 furlongs from the Town, and thither he would go every day after Dinner and Supper; and when night came, throw himself upon the first Mattras in his way, and there sleep as one of the Labourers. At break of day he would rise with the rest, and work either in the Vineyard or at the Plow, from thence return again to the Town, and employ his time with his friends, or the Magistrates in publick business. What he got in the Wars, he laid out on Horses, Arms, or redeeming Captives; but endeavour'd to improve his own Estate the justest way, by Tillage. And this not slightly, by way of diversion, but thinking it precise duty, so to manage his own fortune, as to be out of the temptation of wronging others.

He

He spent much time on Eloquence and Philosophy, but selected his Authors, and cared only for those by whom he might profit in Vertue. In *Homers* fictions he attentively minded whatever he thought apt to raise the Courage. But he studied principally the Commentaries of *Evangelus* for the Marshalling of Armies. He took delight also in the Histories of *Alexander* at leisure hours, still considering how to bring what he read into practice: For never heeding what such Books use for speculation sake to draw out in figures; He lov'd to see, and discourse of what the nature of places and their situations wou'd bear. So that he would be exercising his thoughts, and considering, as he travell'd, and arguing with those about him of the difficulties of steep or broken ground; what might happen at Rivers, Ditches or Straits; in marching close or open; in this or that particular form of battel. The truth is, he was too much addicted to War, which he passionately lov'd as the means to exercise all sorts of vertue, and utterly contemn'd those who were not Souldiers, as Drones and useless in the Commonwealth.

When he was thirty years of age, *Cleomenes*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, surpriz'd *Megalopolis* by night, forc'd the Guards, broke in, and seiz'd the Market-place. *Philopæmen* ran in at the noise, and fought with extreme courage

courage and danger, but cou'd not beat the enemy out again. Yet he sav'd the Citizens, who got away while he made head against those who pursu'd them, and amus'd *Cleomenes*, till after he had lost his Horse, and receiv'd several wounds, he had much ado to get off himself, being the last man in the retreat. The *Megalopolitans* sav'd themselves at *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent to offer them their Town and goods again. *Philopæmen* perceiving them transported with the news, and eager to return, stopt them with a Speech, in which he made them sensible that what *Cleomenes* call'd restoring the City, was taking the Citizens, and holding it with more security. That bare solitude would without more ado force him presently away, since there was no staying for him to guard empty Houses and naked Walls. These reasons stay'd the *Megalopolitans*, but gave occasion to *Cleomenes* to pillage and destroy a great part of the City, and carry away a great booty.

A while after King *Antigonus* coming down to succour the *Achæans*, they marcht with their united forces against *Cleomenes*; who having seiz'd the Avenues, lay advantageously posted on the Hills of *Sellacia*. *Antigonus* drew up close by him, with a resolution to force him in his strength. *Philopæmen* with his Citizens, was that day placed among

among the Horse, follow'd by the *Illyrians* foot, a great number of try'd and able men who brought up the rear of the Army. The Orders were to keep their ground, and not engage till from the other wing where the King fought in person, they should see a *Coat of Arms* lifted up on the point of a Spear. The *Achæans* obey'd their Orders, and stood fast; but the *Illyrians* fell briskly in. *Euclydas* the Brother of *Cleomenes*, seeing the Force thus sever'd from the Horse, detach'd the best of his light armed men, commanding them to wheel about, and charge the naked *Illyrians* behind, This charge putting things in confusion, *Philopæmen* considering those light armed men would be easily squander'd went first to the King's Officers to make them sensible what the occasion requir'd. But they not minding what he said, but slighting him as hare-brain'd, because he was yet of small credit, and not reputed a man of Conduct he charg'd upon them with his own Citizens, and at the first encounter disorder'd and soon after put those men to flight with great slaughter. Then to encourage the King's Army, to bring them all upon the Enemy while he was in confusion, he quitte his Horse, and fighting with extream difficulty in his heavy Horse-arms, in rough uneven ground, full of Springs and Bogs, had both his thighs below the buttock struck through

through with a Thong'd Javelin. It was thrown with a good will, so that the head came out on the other side, and made a great, though not a mortal wound. There he stood a while, as if he had been shackled and unable to remove. The Thong in the middle of the Weapon hinder'd it from being drawn out, nor would any about him venture to do it. But the fight being now at the hottest, and like to be quickly over, he was transported with desire of Combat, and struggled and strain'd so long, setting one leg forward, the other back, till at last he broke the Staff, and made the pieces be pull'd out. Being in this manner set at liberty, he caught up his Sword, and running through the midst of those who were fighting in the first ranks, strangely animated his Men, and set them a fire with emulation. *Antigonus*, after the Victory, ask'd the *Macedonians*, to try them, how it hapned the Horse had charged without order before the Signal? They answering, that they were against their wills forc'd to it by a young Gentleman of *Megalopolis*, who had fallen in before his time; that young Gentleman, reply'd *Antigonus* smiling, did like an experienc'd Commander.

This, as needs it must, brought *Philopæmen* into great reputation. *Antigonus* was earnest to have him in his service, and offer'd him very advantageous conditions both as to Command

Command and Pay. But *Philopæmen*, who knew that his nature brooked not to be under another, would not accept them; yet not enduring to live idle, and hearing of Wars in *Crete*, he pass'd over thither. He spent some time among those very war-like, but withall sober, temperate men, improving much by experience in all sorts of service, and then return'd with so much fame, that the *Achæans* presently chose him General of the Horse. These Horse at that time had neither experience nor heart, having gotten a custome to serve on pitiful Jades, the first and cheapest they could procure, when they wereto march, which too they seldom did, but hired others in their places, and staid at home themselves. Their former Commanders winkt at this, because it being a degree of honour among the *Achæans* to serve on Horseback, they had a great deal of power in the Commonwealth, and were able to gratifie or molest whom they pleas'd. *Philopæmen* finding them in this condition, yielded not to such respects, nor would pass it over as formerly. But went himself from Town to Town, where speaking with the young Gentlemen man by man, he endeavour'd to bring them in love with praise and honour, and making a handsome appearance in the Field, setting Fines on them who came unfurnish'd of what was requisite for their parade.

Where

Where they were like to have most Spectatours, there he would be sure to exercise them, and make them skirmish in sport one with another. In a little time he made them wonderful strong and bold, and which is reckoned of greatest consequence in War, quick and vigorous. With use and industry they grew so perfect, to such a command of their Horses, such a ready exactness in wheeling whole or half turns, and all motions, that in the change of postures the whole body seem'd as easily and as steadily mov'd as one Man. In the great Battel which they fought with the *Ætolians* and *Eliaus* by the River *Larissus*, he set them an example himself. *Demophantes*, General of the *Eliau* Horse, singled out *Philopæmen*, and ran with full speed at him. *Philopæmen* prevented, and with a violent blow of his Spear overthrew him dead to the ground: Upon whose fall the Enemy fled immediatly. And now *Philopæmen*'s name was in every bodies mouth, as a man who in fighting valiantly with his hands yielded not to the youngest, nor to the oldest in good conduct, and than whom there came not into the Field a better Souldier or Commander.

Aratus indeed was the first who rais'd the *Achæans*, inconsiderable till then, into reputation and power, by uniting the divided Cities into one Commonwealth, and setting a way of Government moderate, and becoming

ing *Grecians*. Whence it hapned as in running waters, where when few and little bodies once stop, others stick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes firm and solid; So in a general weakness, when every City relying onely on it self, all *Greece* lay expos'd to an easie destruction. The *Achæans* first united themselves into a body, then drawing in their neighbours round about, some by protection, others by Naturalization, design'd at last to bring all *Peloponnesus* into one Community. Yet while *Aratus* liv'd, they depended much on the *Macedonians*, courting first *Ptolomy*, then *Antigonus* and *Philip*, who had a great influence on the affairs of *Greece*. But when *Philopæmen* came to command, the *Achæans* growing strong enough for the most powerful of their Enemies, would march no longer under Foreigners. The truth is *Aratus*, as we have written at large in his Life, was not of so War-like a temper, but did most by sweetness, and his taking carriage and friendship with Foreign Princes. But *Philopæmen* being a man both of Execution and Command, a great Souldier, and fortunate in his first attempts, wonderfully heightned both the Power and courage of the *Achæans*, accustomed to Victory under his Conduct.

But first he alter'd what he found amiss in their Arms, and form of battel. Formerly they

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us'd light, thin Bucklers, too narrow to cover the body, and Javelins much shorter than Pikes. By which means they were practis'd in skirmishing at a distance, but in a close Fight had much the disadvantage. Then in their form of Battel, they understood nothing of fighting in a Ring, nor any figure but a Square; To which too not allowing front enough, nor closing it strongly, as in the *Macedonian Phalanx*, where the Souldiers shoulder close, and their Bucklers touch, they were easily opened and broken. *Philopæmen* reform'd all this, persuading them to change the narrow Target and short Javelin, into a large Buckler and long Pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs and legs; and instead of loose skirmishing, fight firmly and foot to foot. After he had brought them all to wear Armour, and by that means, into the confidence of thinking themselves now invincible, he turn'd their wanton riotous profusions into an honourable expence. For being long us'd to vie in Cloaths, furniture of their Houses, and service of their Tables, and to glory in out-doing one another, the disease by custom was grown incurable, and which there was no thinking to take quite away. But he diverted the humour, and brought them, instead of these superfluities, to love useful and more manly bravery, and sparing from other things,

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to take delight in appearing magnificent in their Equipage of War. Nothing then was to be seen in the shops but Plate breaking or Melting down, gilding of Backs and Breasts, studding Bucklers and Bits with Silver: Nothing in the places of Exercise, but Horses managing, and young men Exercising their Arms: Nothing in the Ladies hands, but Helmets and Crests, Feathers of all colours, Embroidered Coat-armours, and Caparisons for Horses. The sight of which bravery quickning and raising their Spirits, made them contemn dangers, and ready to venture on any honourable dangers.

Their former Gallantry did indeed please; but withal effeminate: the tickling of the sense slackning the vigour of the mind; but in these it strengthened and heightned their courage, as *Homer* makes *Achilles* at the sight of his new Arms springing with joy, and on fire to use them. When *Philopæmen* had obtain'd of them to Arm, and set themselves out in this manner, he proceeded to Train them, Mustering and Exercising them perpetually, and they obey'd him with great exactness. For they were wonderfully pleas'd with their new form of battel, which being so knit and cemented together, seem'd almost impossible to be broken. And then their Arms, which for their Riches and Beauty they wore with pleasure, becoming

light

light and easie with constant use, they longed for nothing more than to try them with an Enemy, and fight in earnest.

The *Achæans* at that time were at War with *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who having a strong Army, watch'd all opportunities of becoming entire Master of *Peloponnesus*. When intelligence came that he was fall'n upon the *Mantineans*, *Philopæmen* presently took the field, and march't towards him. They met near *Mantineia*, and drew up in sight of the City. Both, besides the whole strength of their several Cities, had a good number of Mercenaries in pay. When they came to fall on, *Machanidas*, with his hir'd Souldiers, beat the Darts and Lances which *Philopæmen* had placed in the Front. But when he should have charged immediately into the main Battel, which stood close and firm, he hotly follow'd the chace; and instead of routing the *Achæans* Army, disorder'd his own. With so untoward a beginning the rest of the Confederates gave themselves for lost; but *Philopæmen* seem'd to slight, and make it a matter of small consequence: And observing the Enemies oversight, who left his main body undefended behind, and the ground clear, would not make head against him, but let him pursue the chace freely, till he had run himself a great distance from his main body.

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Then seeing the *Lacedæmonians* before him deserted by their Horse, with their flanks quite bare, he charged suddenly, and surprized them without a Commander, and not so much as expecting an Encounter: For when they saw *Machanidas* driving the beaten enemy before him, they thought the Victory already gain'd. He overthrew them with great slaughter, for they report above 4000 kill'd in the place, and then fac'd about against *Machanidas*, who was returning with his Mercenaries from the pursuit. There hapned to be a broad deep ditch between them, where both strove a while, one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. It bore a resemblance of wild beasts, forc'd to fight for their Lives, when prest by so eager a Huntsman as *Philopæmen*, rather than of Generals in a field. The Tyrant's Horse was mettled and strong; and feeling the bloody Spurs in his sides, ventur'd to take the ditch. He had already planted his hinder-feet on the bank, and rais'd his fore-feet to leap, when *Simmias* and *Polyænus*, who us'd to fight by the side of *Philopæmen*, came up on Horse-back to his assistance. But *Philopæmen*, preventing both, stood *Machanidas* himself; and perceiving that the Horse with his head high rear'd, cover'd his Master's body; he turned his own a little, and striking at the Tyrant with all his force, tumbled him dead into the ditch.

The

The *Achæans* wonderfully taken with his Valour in this single Combat, and conduct the whole day, set up his Statue in Brass at *Delphos*, in the posture in which he kill'd the Tyrant. The reports goes, that at the *Nemean-games*, a little after the Victory, *Philopæmen* being then General the second time, and at leisure by reason of the solemnity, first shew'd the *Grecians* his Army, drawn up as if they were to fight, with all the motions occurring in a battel perform'd with wonderful order, strength and nimbleness. After which he went into the Theatre, while the Musicians were singing for the prize, waited on by Gentlemen in their Leaguer-cloaks, and Scarlet-arming Coats, all handsom men and in the flower of their age, and all carrying a great respect to their General; yet breathing out a noble confidence in themselves, rais'd by success in many glorious Encounters. At their coming in, by chance one *Pilades*, with a voice well suited to the lofty style of the Poet, was Singing this Verse out of the *Persians* of *Timotheus*.

Under his Conduct Greece was free and great.

The whole Theatre presently cast their eyes on *Philopæmen*, and fell a clapping with wonderful joy, and ravish'd with hopes to recover again their former fame, and a confidence little short of their ancient vertue.

O o 3

Now

Now it was with the *Achæans*, as with young Horses, which go quietly with their usual riders, but boggle and grow unruly under strangers. The Souldiers, when any hot service was towards, and *Philopæmen* not at their head, grew dejected, and look'd about for him; but if he once appear'd, came presently to themselves, and recover'd their confidence and courage. Of which their very Enemies being sensible, they could not endure to look him in the face; but as appear'd in several occasions, were frighted with his very name.

Philip, King of *Macedon*, thinking to terrifie the *Achæans* into subjection again, if he could rid his hands of *Philopæmen*, employ'd some privately to assassinate him. But the treachery coming to light, he became infamous, and mortally hated through all *Greece*. The *Bæotians* besieging *Megara*, and ready to carry the Town by Storm, upon a groundless feign'd rumour, that *Philopæmen* was at hand with succour, ran away, and left their scaling Ladders at the Wall behind them. *Nabis*, (who was Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* after *Mechanidas*) had surpriz'd *Messene* at a time when *Philopæmen* was out of Command. He try'd to perswade *Lysippus*, then General of the *Achæans*, to succour *Messene*: but not prevailing with him, because he said the Enemy being
now

now within it, the place was irrecoverably lost, resolv'd to go himself, without order or commission, but follow'd by his own Citizens, who went all with him as their General by commission from nature, which had made him fittest to Command. *Nabis* hearing of his coming, though his Army quarter'd within the Town, thought it not convenient for him to stay; but stealing out of the farthest gate with his men, march'd away with all the speed he could, thinking himself a happy man if he could get off with safety. And he did escape, but *Messene* was rescued.

All hitherto makes for the praise and honour of *Philopæmen*. But when at the request of the *Gortynians* he return'd again into *Crete* to Command for them, at a time when his own Countrey was distress'd by *Nabis*, he was taxed either of cowardise, or unseasonable ambition of honour amongst Foreigners. For the *Megalopolitans* were then so press'd, that the Enemy being master of the Field, and encamping almost at their Gates, they were forc'd to keep themselves within their Walls, and sow their very Streets. And he flying from a War at home, and commanding in chief in a foreign Nation, furnish'd his ill-willers with matter enough for their reproaches. Some said he took the offer of the *Gortynians*, because the *Achæans* chose other Generals,
and

and left him but a private man. For he could not endure to sit still, but looking upon War, and commanding in it as his great business, always coveted to be employ'd. And this agrees with what he once said smartly of *K. Ptolomy*. Some-body was praising him for keeping his Army and himself in perpetual exercise: And what praise, reply'd *Philopæmen*, for a King of his years, to be always preparing, and never performing? However, the *Megalopolitans* thinking themselves betray'd, took it so ill, that they were about to banish him. But the *Achæans* dash't that design, by sending their Prætor *Aristanetus* to *Megalopolis*, who though he were at difference with *Philopæmen* about affairs of the Commonwealth, yet would not suffer him to be banish'd. *Philopæmen* being upon this account out of favour with his Citizens, cajoll'd divers of the little neighbouring places from obeying them, putting in their heads to say, that from the beginning they were not subject to their Taxes, or Laws, or any way under their Command. In these pretences he openly took their part, and at the same time fomented seditions in the City against the *Achæans*. But these things hapned a while after.

While he stay'd in *Crete*, in the service of the *Gortynians*, he made War not like a *Peloponnesian* or *Arcadian* fairly in the open Field, but fought with them at their own weapon,
and

and turning their stratagems and tricks against themselves, shew'd them to play Craft against Skill, and were but Children to an experienc'd Souldier. Having manag'd it then with great bravery, and great reputation to himself, he return'd into *Peloponnesus*, where he found *Philip* beaten by *T. Quintius*, and *Nabis* at War both with the *Romans* and *Achæans*. He was presently chosen General against *Nabis*, but venturing to fight by Sea, seem'd to have split upon the same Rock with *Epaminondas*, and by a success very different from the general expectation, and his own fame, lost much of his former reputation. But for *Epaminondas*, some report he was backward by design, to disgust his Country-men with the Sea, lest of good Souldiers, they should by little and little turn as *Plato* says, ill Mariners. And therefore return'd from *Asia* and the Islands without doing any thing on purpose. Whereas *Philopæmen* thinking his skill in Land-service would prevail likewise at Sea, learnt how great a part of valour experience is, and how much it imports in the management of things to be accusom'd to them. For he was not only put to the worst in the fight for want of skill, but having rigged up an old Ship, which had been a famous Vessel forty years before, and ship'd his Citizens in her; the foundring, he had like to have lost them all. But then finding
the

the Enemy, as if he had been driven out of the Sea, had, in contempt of him, besieged *Gytheon*, he presently set sail again, and taking them unexpectedly, dispers'd, and careless after their Victory, Landed in the night, burnt their Camp, & kill'd of them a great number.

A few days after, as he was marching through rough ways, *Nabis* came suddenly upon him. The *Achæans* were dismay'd, and in so strait a place, and which was seiz'd by the Enemy, despair'd to get off with safety. *Philopæmen* made a little halt, and when he had view'd the ground, made it appear, that the greatest thing in War is skill in drawing up an Army. For by advancing onely a few paces, and without any confusion or trouble altering his order according to the nature of the place, he presently took away all apprehension from his men, and then charging, put the enemy to flight. But when he saw they fled not towards the City, but dispers'd every man a several way all over the Field, which for Wood and Hills, Brooks and Ditches was not passable by Horse, he founded a retreat, and encamped by broad day-light. Then foreseeing the enemy would endeavour to steal scatteringly into the City in the dark, he posted strong parties of the *Achæans* all along the Banks and Hillocks near the Walls. Many of *Nabis's* men fell into their hands. For returning
not

not in a body, but as the chance of flight had dispos'd of every one, they were caught like birds e'er they could enter into the Town.

For these things he was wonderfully lov'd, and was also honour'd in all the Theatres of *Greece*, but got the secret ill-will of *Titus Flaminius*, a man covetously ambitious of glory. For he thought it but reasonable a Consul of *Rome* should be otherwise esteem'd by the *Achæans*, than a Gentleman of *Arcadia*; especially seeing there was no comparison between what he, and what *Philopæmen* had done for them. For he by one Proclamation had restor'd all *Greece*, as much as had been under *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, to liberty. After this *Titus* made peace with *Nabis*, and *Nabis* was circumvented and slain by the *Ætolians*. Things being then in confusion at *Sparta*, *Philopæmen* lay'd hold on that occasion, and coming upon them with his Army, prevail'd with some by persuasion, with others by fear, till he brought the whole City over to the *Achæans*. As it was no small matter for *Sparta* to become a member of *Achaia*, this action gain'd him infinite praise from the *Achæans*, for strengthening the Union by the addition of so great and powerful a City, and not a little good-will from the Nobility of *Sparta* it self, who hoped they had now procured a General who would defend their freedom.

Wherefore

Above
2000
pound.

Wherefore having made 120 Silver Talents by sale of the House and Goods of *Nabis*, they decreed him the money, and sent some in the name of the City to present it. But here the honesty of *Philopæmen* appear'd as it was, a real uncounterfeited virtue. There was not a man among them durst mention the matter to him, but every one excusing himself, and shifting it off to his fellow; they laid it at last on *Timolaus*, with whom he had lodg'd at *Sparta*. *Timolaus* came to *Megalopolis*, and was entertain'd by *Philopæmen*, but struck into admiration with his grave manner of discourse, his thrifty and upright way of living, judg'd him not a man to be tempted, and, so pretending other business, return'd without a word mention'd of the Present. He was sent again, and did just as formerly. But the third time with much ado, and faltring in his words, he acquainted *Philopæmen* with the good will of the City of *Sparta* to him. *Philopæmen* harkned to him obligingly and gladly, and then went himself to *Sparta*, where he advis'd them not to bribe good men and their friends, of whose virtue they might be sure without charge to themselves; but buy off and silence ill Citizens, who were perpetually disquieting the City with their seditious Speeches in the Senate, or to the People. For it was better to bar liberty of speech in Enemies,

than

than Friends. Thus it appear'd how much *Philopæmen* was above bribery.

Diophanes being afterwards General of the *Achæans*, and hearing the *Lacedæmonians* were bent on new commotions, resolv'd to chastise them. They on the other side being set upon War, embroil'd all *Peloponnesus*. *Philopæmen* did what he could to sweeten *Diophanes*, and make him sensible that as the times went, while *Antiochus* and the *Romans* were disputing their vast Pretensions with vast Armies in the heart of *Greece*, it concern'd a man in his employment to keep a watchful eye over them, and dissembling and putting up many injuries to preserve all quiet at home. *Diophanes* would not be rul'd, but joyn'd with *Titus*, and both together falling into *Laconia*, march'd directly to *Sparta*. *Philopæmen* was so nettled, that he did an action, in it self not justifiable, but which proceeded from a great spirit, and involv'd in it a great design. For getting into the Town himself, he, a private man as he was, kept out both the Consul of *Rome* and General of *Achaia*, quieted the disorders in the City, and re-united it once again to the *Achaians*.

Yet afterwards, when he was Prætor himself, upon some new misdemeanour of the *Lacedæmonians*, he brought back those who had been banish'd, put, as *Polybius* writes 80, according to *Aristocrates* 350 Citizens to death, raz'd

the

the Walls, took away a good part of their Territory, and laid it to the *Megalopolitans*, forc'd out of the Country, and carried into *Achaia* all who had been made free of *Sparta* by Tyrants, except 3000 who would not submit to Banishment. Those he sold for Slaves, and with the money, as if to insult over them, built a Porch at *Megalopolis*. Lastly, Unworthily trampling upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their calamities, and even glutting his hatred with a most cruel and inhumane action; he abolish'd the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and forc'd them to educate their Children, and live after the manner of the *Achæans*. For while they kept to the Discipline of *Lycurgus*, there was no pulling down their haughty spirits but now their calamities had given *Philopæmen* opportunity to cut the sinews of their Commonwealth asunder, they were brought low, and grew tame and humble. Yet this lasted not long; for applying themselves to the *Romans*, and getting their consent, they soon threw off their new *Achaian* fashions; and as much as in so miserable and deprav'd a condition they could, re-establish their old discipline.

When the War betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans* broke out in *Greece*, *Philopæmen* was a private man. At which he repin'd grievously, when he saw *Antiochus* lay idle at *Calcis*, spending his time in unseasonable Courtship and Weddings,

Weddings, and his Men dispers'd in several Towns without Order or Commanders, and minding nothing but their pleasures. He us'd to tell the *Romans* that he envy'd their Victory; and that if he had had the fortune, to be then in Command, he wou'd have surpriz'd the Enemy, & cut all their throats at their debauches.

When *Antigonus* was overcome, the *Romans* press'd harder upon *Greece*, and surrounded the *Achæans* with their power; The leading men in the several Cities grew out of heart; the great strength of the whole body insensibly vanish'd, and the rowling of fortune began to settle on the *Roman* basis. *Philopæmen* in this conjuncture carry'd himself like a good Pilot in a high Sea, sometimes shifting sail, and sometimes yielding, but still steering steady; and omitting no opportunity nor earnestness to keep all who were considerable, whether for eloquence or riches, fast to the defence of their Common liberty.

Aristænetus, a *Megalopolitan* of great credit among the *Achæans*, but always a favourer of the *Romans*, said one day in the Senate, that the *Romans* were not to be displeas'd, or refus'd any thing. *Philopæmen* heard him with an impatient silence: But at last, not able to hold longer, said angerly to him, And why in such haste, wretched Man, to behold the *Grecian* ruine? *Manlius*, the *Roman* Consul, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, moved the

the *Achæans* to restore the banish'd *Lacedæmonians* to their Countrey, which motion was seconded and supported by all the interest of *Titus*. But *Philopæmen* cross'd it, not for any ill will to the men, but because they should be beholding to him and the *Achæans*, not to *Titus* and the *Romans*. For when he came to be Prætor himself, he restor'd them. So impatient was his great Spirit of doing things by command, and so prone his nature to shock and contend with men in power.

Being now Threescore and ten, and the eighth time General, he was in hope to pass in quiet not onely the year of his Magistracy, but his remaining life. For as diseases are weaker in weaker bodies, the quarrelling humour of the *Grecians* abated much with their power. But envious Fortune threw him down in the close of his life, like one who with unmatchable speed runs over all the race, and stumbles at the Goal. 'Tis reported, that being in company where one was prais'd for a great Commander, he reply'd, There was no great account to be made of a man, who had suffer'd himself to be taken alive by his Enemies.

A few days after, news came that *Dinocrates* a *Messenian*, a particular Enemy to *Philopæmen*, and for his wickedness and villainies generally hated, had brought *Messene* to revolt from the *Achæans*, and was about

to

to seize upon a little place call'd *Colonis*. *Philopæmen* lay then sick of a Fever at *Argos*. Upon the news he hasted away, and reach'd *Megalopolis*, which was distant above 400 furlongs in a day. From thence he presently drew out the Horse, the chiefest of the City, and who in the vigour of their age and mettle were forward in the matter, both for their extraordinary love to *Philopæmen* and compassion of the case. As they marched towards *Messene*, they met with *Dinocrates* about *Evan-der's Tomb*, charged and routed him. But five hundred fresh men, vvho being left for a guard to the Countrey came late in, hapning to appear, the flying Enemy rally'd again about the hills. *Philopæmen* fearing to be inclos'd, and solicitous for his men, retreated over ground extremely disadvantageous, bringing up the rere himself. As he often fac'd, and ran upon the Enemy, he drevv them all upon himself; yet they caracoll'd aloof, and shouted about him, nobody daring to approach him. With care to save every single man, he left his main body so often, that at last he vvvas left himself alone among the thickest of his Enemies. Yet even then none durst come up to him, but being pelted at a distance, and driven to stony steep places, he vvvas fain vvith much spurring to vvind up and dovvn as he vvvas able: His age vvvas no hinderance to him, for vvith

Pp

perpe-

perpetual exercise it was both strong and active. But being weakned with sickness, and tired with his long journey, his Horse stumbling, threw him encumber'd with his arms, and faint upon a hard and rugged piece of ground. His head being grievously bruised with the fall, he lay a while speechless, so that the Enemy thinking him dead, began to turn and strip him. But when they saw him lift up his head, and open his eyes, they threw themselves in crouds upon him, bound his hands behind him, and carry'd him off with all the provoking scorn and opprobrious language of insulting insolence; him (I say) who had never so much as dreamt of being led in triumph by *Dinocrates*.

The *Messenians* wonderfully pufft up with the news, throng'd in swarms to the City gates. But when they saw *Philopæmen* in a posture so unsuitable to the glory of his great Actions and famous Victories, most of them struck with grief, and cursing the deceitful vanity of humane fortune, fell a weeping with compassion. Their tears by little and little turn'd to kind words, and 'twas almost in every bodies mouth that they ought to remember what he had done for them and the Common liberty, which by driving away *Nabis*, he had preserv'd. Some few, to make their court to *Dinocrates*, were

were for tormenting, and putting him to death as a dangerous and irreconcilable Enemy; and who, if he once got loose, *Dinocrates* was lost, who had taken him prisoner, and us'd him basely. They put him at last into a Dungeon under-ground, which they call'd the Treasury, a place into which there comes no air nor light from abroad; and which having no doors, is clos'd with a great stone; which rowling to the entrance, they fix'd; and placing a guard about it, left him. In the mean time *Philopæmen*'s Souldiers recovering themselves after their flight, and fearing he was dead when he appear'd no-where, made a stand, calling him with loud cries, and reproaching one another with their unworthy and shameful escape; and, betraying their General, who to preserve their lives, had lost his own. Then they fell to searching curiously every-where, till hearing at last he was taken, they sent away Messengers round about with the news. The *Achæans* resented the misfortune deeply, and decreed to send and demand him, and in the mean time drew their Army together for his rescue.

While these things past in *Achaia*, *Dinocrates* fearing all delay would save *Philopæmen*, and resolv'd to be before-hand with the *Achæans*, as soon as dark night had dispers'd the multitude, sent in the Executioner with poison, and order not to stir from him-till

he had taken it. *Philopæmen* was then laid down, wrapt up in his Cloak, not sleeping, but oppress'd with grief and trouble. But seeing light, and a man with poison by him, struggled to sit up; and taking the Cup, ask'd the Hangman if he heard any thing of the Horsemen, particularly *Lycortas*? The fellow answering, that the most part had got off safe, he nodded, and looking chearfully upon him, 'Tis well, says he, that we are not every way unfortunate. And without a word more drank it off, and laid him down again. His weakness struggling but little with the poison, it dispatch'd him presently.

The news of his death fill'd all *Achaia* with grief and lamentation. The Youth, with some of the chief of the several Cities met at *Megalopolis* with a resolution to take revenge without delay. They chose *Lycortas* General, and falling upon the *Messenians*, put all to fire and sword, till the City by common consent yielded. *Dinocrates* with as many as had voted for his death; prevented their revenge, and kill'd themselves. Those who would have had him tormented, *Lycortas* put in Chains. They burnt his Body, and put the ashes into an Urn, and then march'd homeward, not in a disorder'd hurry, but with a kind of solemn pomp, half Triumph, half Funeral, Crowns of Victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes, their Captive Enemies

mies in Fetters by them. *Polybius*, the General's Son, carried the Urn, whereof there was hardly any thing to be seen but Garlands and Ribbons. The chief of the *Achæans* went round about it. The Souldiers follow'd bravely arm'd and mounted, with looks neither altogether sad as in Mourning, nor lofty as in Victory. The people from all Towns and Villages in their way, flock'd out to meet him, as at his return from conquest, and saluting and touching the Urn, fell in with the Company, and follow'd on to *Megalopolis*. Where when the old Men, the Women and Children were mingled with the rest, the whole City was fill'd with sighs, complaints and cries, looking upon the loss of *Philopæmen* as the loss of their Greatness, and on themselves as no longer Chief among the *Achæans*. So he was honourably buried according to his Worth, and the Prisoners ston'd about his Tomb.

Many Statues were set up, and many Honours decreed him by the several Cities: all which a certain *Roman*, who after the destruction of *Corinth*, prosecuted him as if he had been alive for an Enemy to the *Romans*, would have remov'd. The business made a noise, and *Polybius* answer'd the Sycophant at large. But neither *Mummius* nor the Legats would suffer the honourable Monuments of so great a Man to be defac'd,

T. Q. FLAMINIUS.



Murghers sculp.

(583)

THE
L I F E
OF
TITUS Q. FLAMINIUS.

Englised from the Original,
By Charles Whitaker, of the Inner-
Temple, Esquire.

Volume II.

Titus Quintius Flaminius (whom we pitch upon for a Parallel to Philopæmen) what he was to his outward appearance, they who are led with a Curiosity that way, may view him in his Brazen Statue, which stands in Rome next that of the Great Apollo, brought from Carthage, opposite to the Circus Maximus, with a Greek Inscription upon it. But for the Temper of his mind,

P p 4

'tis

* &c.

Titus his
Character.

'tis said to have been *somewhat* * of the hottest both in his angry and in the kinder expressions of *himself*, but not to an equal pitch or continuance in both; for when he came to Punishing, he was ever moderate, not inflexible. But whatever courtesie or good turn *he set about*, he went through with it. So civil, so obliging was he always to them on whom he pour'd his Favours, as if they, *not he*, had been the Benefactors; he practis'd as much observance and care towards all that had *tasted* of his Beneficence, as if *in them* had been lodg'd his choicest Treasures: But being ever thirsty after Honour, and a mighty affecter of Glory, if any thing of a greater and more extraordinary nature, were to be done, he would *be sure* to be the doer of it himself: He took more pleasure in those that needed, than in those that were capable of conferring Courtesies; looking on the former as *proper* objects for his virtue, and on the latter as *his* Competitors in Glory.

Rome had then many and sharp Contests abroad, and her Youth betaking themselves early to the Wars, learn'd betimes the Art of Commanding; when *Flaminius*, having pass'd through the Rudiments of Souldiery, began his first Charge in the War against *Hannibal*, as Commander of 1000 Foot under *Marcellus* the then Consul. *Marcellus*, indeed, falling into an Ambuscade, was cut off.

But

But *Titus* getting the Governourship as well of *Tarentum* (then re-taken a second time) as of the Countrey about it, grew no less famous for his Administration of Justice, than for his military Skill. This rais'd him to the *Triumvirate Dignity* of Leader and Chieftain of those two Colonies which were sent into the Cities of *Narnia* and *Cossa*; which fill'd him with loftier thoughts, and made him step over those previous Honours which *such* young Candidates use to pass through of Tribune, Prætor and Ædile, and level his first aim at the Consulship. Having therefore these Colonies, and all that Interest ready at his Devotion, without more ado, he stands for it: But the Tribunes of the People, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, and their Party, strongly oppos'd him; alledging how undecent a thing, *how ill a Precedent 'twas*, that a Man of such raw years, one who was yet, as 'twere, *untrain'd*, never initiated in the first sacred Rights and Mysteries of Government, should, in contempt and opposition of their Laws, intrude and force himself into the Sovereignty.

However the Senate remitted it to the Peoples choice and suffrage; who Elect him (though not then arriv'd as his Thirtieth year) and *Sextus Ælius* Consuls. The War against *Philip* and the *Macedonians* fell to *Titus* by Lot, and surely some kind Genius propitious

Liv. L. 2.
Dec. 4.

Chosen Consul at thirty

ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὸν Πόλεμον συλλεγεσθαι
But I read συλλεγεσθαι for συλλαγεσθαι.

propitious at that time to the Roman affairs had a hand in the drawing it; for the Macedonians were not men of that stubborn nature, as to need a General to be sent against them, who would always be upon the point of force and dry blows, but were rather reducible by persuasion and gentle usage. 'Tis true that the Kingdom of Macedon furnish'd supplies enough to Philip to enable him to adventure on a single Battel with the Romans: But to maintain a long and lingring War, he must call in Aid from Greece; from Greece must he recruit his strength; from Greece replenish his stores; from thence must he borrow his Strongholds and retreating-places; and in a word, all the Materials of War must the Macedonian Army fetch from thence. Unless therefore that the Grecians could be taken off from siding with Philip, this War with him must not expect its Decision from a single Battel. Now Greece (who had not hitherto held much Correspondence with the Romans, but first began an Intercourse under this Scene of affairs) would not so soon have embrac'd a Foreign Authority instead of the Governours she had been enur'd to; Had not the Roman Consul been of a sweet and winning nature, one who work'd rather by fair means than force; of a most insinuating address in all Applications of himself to others, and no less easie

courteous

τὸ ὕψος τῶν μακίστων ἔργων
διεικνύν.

courteous, and open to all Addresses of others to him. But above all, had a constant Eye to Justice; but the after-account of his Actions will best illustrate him as to these Particulars.

Titus finding that as well, *Salpiti*us, as *Publius*, who had been his Predecessours in that Command, had not taken the Field against the Macedonians till late; and when their Consulships were on the point of Expiring: And then too set their hands but tenderly to the War, but stood skirmishing and scouting here and there for Passes and Provisions, and never came to close fighting with Philip. He thought it not meet to trifle away an year, as they did, at home in Ostentation of their new-gotten Honours, and in the Administration of Civil Affairs, and after, in the close of the year, to betake themselves to the Army, a mere artifice to eke out their Dignity and Government a year longer, acting the Consul in the first, and the General in the latter. But Titus was withal infinitely desirous to employ his Authority with effect upon the War; which made him slight those Home-Honours and Prerogatives. Requesting, therefore, of the Senate, that his Brother *Lucius* might go Admiral of the Navy, and taking with him 3000 gallant and stout men *as so many sure Cards, which he drew out of those who, under *Scipio*, had defeated *Asdrubal* in † *Iberia*.

Sets out immediately for the War.

* *ἀπὸ τῶν*
 Liv. Ibid.

† *Spain.*

and

and *Hannibal* in *Africa*, he got safe into *Epirus*; and finding *Publius* encamp'd with his Army over against *Philip*, who had long made good the Pass over the River *Apfus*, and the Straits there; *Publius* not having been able, for the the *natural* strength of the place, to effect any thing upon him. *Titus* therefore takes upon him the Conduct of the Army, and having dismissed *Publius*, views the Coast.

Takes the
Army of
Publius.

it expects.

The Apfus.

Liv. ibid.

The place is no less *inaccessible* and **impregnable* than the *craggy* Rocks of *Tempe*, but falls short of that goodly Ornament of Trees, that Verdant *prospect* of the Woods; it lacks *Tempe's* pleasant Fields and Walks at the foot of it; for the *Apfus* (falling from those great and lofty Mountains, which, standing as a mighty Bank on each side the River, make a deep and large Chancel in the midst) is not unlike the River *Peneus*, either for the swiftness of its Current, or the manner of it; for it swells over, and covers the foot of those Hills, insomuch that there's left onely a cragg'd narrow path cut out hard by the stream, not easily passable at any time for an Army, but not at all when guarded by the Enemy. There were some, therefore, who would fain have had *Titus* fetch a Compass through *Dassaretis*, along the River *Lycas*, which was a passable and easie Tract. But he fearing, if he should engage himself too far from the Sea, into barren and untill'd Countries,

Countries, and *Philip* should decline Fighting, he might, through want of Provisions be constrain'd to march back again to the Sea-side without effecting any thing, as his Predecessor had done before him. This put him upon a resolution of forcing his way over the Mountains. But *Philip*, having possessed himself of them with his Army, show'd down his Darts and Arrows from all parts about the Romans Ears. Sharp were the skirmishes, and many fell wounded and slain on both sides, and small appearance there was of thus ending the War. When some of the men, who fed their Cattel thereabouts, came to *Titus* with a Discovery, that there was a Round-about-way which the Enemy neglected to Guard; through which they undertake to conduct his Army, and to bring them, within three days at farthest, to the top of the Hills; and to gain the surer credit with him, they alledged that *Charops* of *Machara*, was not onely privy unto, but would make good all they had promised (this *Charops* was at that time Prince of *Epirus*, and a Well-willer to the Romans, and one that gave them assistance, but under-hand, for fear of *Philip*.) *Titus*, crediting the Intelligence, sends avway a Captain with 4000 Foot, and 300 Horse: These Herdsmen were their Guides, but kept in Bonds. In the day-time, they lay still under the

Liv. ibid
Herdsmen
discover a
way to
Titus to
bring his
Men up the
Mountains.

the Covert of the hollow and woody places, but in the night they march'd by Moon-light (for the Moon was then at full:) *Titus* having detach'd off this *Party*, lay still afterwards with his main body; unless it were that he *sometimes* gall'd and incommoded the *Enemies* *Camp* by shooting up amongst them.

But when the day arrived, that those who stole round, were expected upon the top of the Hill, he drew up his Forces early into *Battalia*, as well the light-arm'd as the heavy, and dividing them into three Parts; Himself led the *Van*, marching his Men along the Bank, up the narrowest point of those Straits, darted at by the *Macedonians*, and engaging, amidst those Rocks, hand to hand with all his Assaultants. Whilst the other two Squadrons, on either side of him, with a Transcendent Alacrity and Courage clinging to the Rocks, as if they had grown to them, contended all they could to come to Action. But when the Sun was up, a thin smock discovers it self rising afar off, (like Mists that usually hang upon the Hills,) but unperceived by the Enemy (for 'twas behind them who were at top already,) And the *Romans* as yet under a doubt and suspense in the toil and difficulty they were in, construed their Hopes according to their Desires. But as it grew thicker and thicker, spreading Darknes over the Air, and mounting to a greater

greater height, they no longer doubted but 'twas the Fiery-signal of their Companions; whereupon they give a mighty shout, and climbing up stoutly and courageously, they drave the Enemy into the most craggy places; in the interim those behind the Enemy Echoed back their Acclamations from the top of the Mountain. Quickly then did the *Macedonians* fly with all the heels they could make; there fell not more than 2000 of them, for the difficulties of the place rescued them from a long and close pursuit. But the *Romans* pillag'd their Camp, seized upon their Wealth and Slaves, becoming absolute Masters of those Straits, travers'd over all *Epirus*; but with such Order and Discipline, with such Temperance and Moderation, that though they were far from the Sea, at a great distance from their Vessels, and stinted of their Monthly allowance of Corn, and the like Provisions, and wanting the opportunities of Markets to furnish themselves from; yet plunder'd they not the Country which had Provisions enough of all sorts in it. For *Titus* receiving an Intelligence that *Philip* rather fled than marched through *Thessaly*, that he forced the Inhabitants from the Towns to take shelter in the Mountains, that the Towns themselves he burnt down, that a great part of their goods, which for the quantity or cumberfomness of them, they could

φύγη δὲ καὶ
ἀνδροθή

The Macedonians
routed.

Titus plunders
not
the Country.

not

not carry with them was left a Prey to the *Victour*; in so much that the whole Country in a manner was quitted to the *Roman Army*: He therefore was very desirous, and intreated his Souldiers, that they would pass through it as their own; as a *Place* put into their hands: and indeed they quickly perceived by the Event what *Benefit* they derived from that *Orderliness*. For they no sooner set Foot in *Thessaly*, but the Cities Surrender to him, and the *Græcians*, within the *Pylæ*, did perfectly long for and were quite transported with a Zeal of *Committing themselves into the hands of Titus*. The *Acheans* not onely broke their League with *Philip*, but, at the same time, voted to joyn with the *Romans* in actual arms against him. As for the *Opuntians*; the *Ætolians* (who though they then acted with a mighty forwardness and Valour in Confederacy with the *Roman*) did strongly Solicite them to put their City under their protection, but they embrac'd not the *Proposition*; But sending for *Titus*, to him they intrust and commit themselves.

'Tis reported of *Pyrrhus*, that when at first from an adjacent Hill or watch-Tower which gave him a full prospect of the *Roman Army*, he descryed them so orderly drawn up; he should openly declare, "he espied no Barbarity in the *Barbarians* Ranks. All that came

came near *Titus*, could not chuse but say as much of him, at their first view. For they who had been told by the *Macedonians* of an Invader at the head of a *Barbarian Army*, * carrying every where Slavery and Destruction on his Sword's point; when in lieu of such an one, they meet a man, in the Flower of his Age, of a graceful Aspect, and full of Humanity, a *Grecian* in his Voice and Language, and a lover of true Honour, they were most wonderfully pleas'd and satisfied in him; and when they left him, they fill'd the Cities and all places where they came with a value and esteem for him, as reckoning they had now got a Leader to Liberty. And when afterwards *Philip* made as if he would condescend to Terms of Peace, *Titus* came, and made a Tender to him of Peace and Friendship, upon the Conditions that the *Grecians* be left to their own Laws and Liberties, and that he withdraw his Garrisons thence. This he refused to comply with. But now after these easie proposals, the general voge of all, even of the Favourers and Partisans of *Philip*, was, that the *Romans* came not to fight against, but for the *Grecians*, and against the *Macedonians*. As for the rest of *Greece*, all clos'd with him in a yeilding Peaceable way.

As he march'd into *Bæotia*, without committing the least act of Hostility, The Nobles and Chief-men of *Thebes* came out of their City

* Νόμιμα
πείλας
τας ἐχθ-
ρας
δολέμους.

Titus pro-
fers Philip
a peace,
on condi-
tion that
Greece be
left free.

αὐτοῦ
ἐάν.

The Nobles
of Thebes
come to meet
Titus.

City to meet him. These Thebans, by the Influence of Brachyllelis and his Faction, favour'd the Macedonian State, but however complimented, and paid their Honour and deference to Titus; for they were, yet, at Amity with both parties. Titus received them in the most obliging and courteous manner, but keeps going gently on, Questioning and Inquiring of them, after this and that, and sometimes entertaining them with Narratives, and apposite Replies and Relations of his own, till his Soldiers might a little recover the weariness of their Journey. Thus passing easily on, He and the Thebans came together into their City, not much to their Satisfaction; But to deny him Entrance they durst not, for a good competent Number of his men followed him in. Titus then Proceeded by way of address to them, as if he had not had the City at his mercy, and set a persuading them to take in with the Roman Interests. King Attalus, joyns with him in the same requests, pressing the Thebans so to do. But Attalus, being ambitious to give Titus a Specimen of his Rhetorical faculty beyond what, it seems, his age could bear; a Dizziness or Flux of Rheum surprizing him in the midst of his Speech, he swooned away, and, being not long after conveyed by Ship into Asia, dyed there. As for the Bœtians, they sided with the Romans.

But

But now when Philip sent an Embassy to Rome, Titus dispatch'd away Agents on his part too, to Solicite the Senate to decree him a Continuance in his Command, if they did so, to the War; or if they determin'd an end to that, that he might have the Honour of striking up the Peace. For having a great Itch after Glory, his fear was, that if another General were Commission'd to carry on the War, the Honour even of what was past would be lost to him; but his Friends transacted matters so well on his behalf, that neither Philip prevail'd in his Proposals, and the management of the War was confirm'd in his hands. He no sooner receiv'd the Senate's * Determination in this point, and the * Sylla. Ratification of his Authority; But, big with hopes, he marches directly into Thessaly, to Engage Philip. His Army consisted of 26000 Men, whereof the Ætolians furnished 6000 of the Foot and 400 of the Horse. The Forces of Philip were much about the same Number. In this Eagerness to encounter they advance each against the other, till both drew near unto Scotusa, where they resolved to hazard a Battle. The Vicinity of two such Puissant Armies had not the Effect that might have been easily supposed, to strike into the Generals a mutual Terrour of each other, but rather inspir'd them with Ardour and Ambition; on the Romans part'

Q q 2

to

An Embas-
sy sent to
Rome.Titus ad-
vances with
an Army a-
gainst Phi-
lip.

to be the Conquerours of *Macedon*; a name which was Famous and *Formidable* amongst them, for strength and Valour on the score of *Alexander's Grandure*: whilst the *Macedonians* on the other hand, esteeming of the *Romans* as another-guess Enemy than the *Persian*, hoped, that if Victory stood on their side, to make the name of *Philip* shine brighter in the *Annals of Fame* than that of *Alexander*. *Titus* therefore presses and incites his Souldiers to play the part of Valiant and Daring men for that they were now to enter the Lists upon the most glorious Theatre of the *World, Greece*, and with Champions that stand in Competition with the foremost for Valour. *Philip* on the other side begins an Harangue to his Men, as is usual to do just before an Engagement, to whet and call up their Courage: and in order to his being the better heard (whether 'twere merely accidental, or out of an unseasonable haste, not observing what he did;) he mounts upon an Eminence without their Camp, which proved indeed a Burying-place. *Philip* himself was not a little concern'd for the strange *Damp* and Dependancy that seiz'd his Army at the unluckiness of the Omen, in so much that all that day he kept in his Camp, and declined Fighting. But on the morrow, as day came on, after a slabby, wet night, the Clouds changing into a mist fill'd all the Plain with a mighty

mighty Darkness; and a foggy thick Air descending, by that time 'twas full day, from the adjacent Mountains betwixt the two Camps, cover'd their Stations from each others view: Whereupon the Parties sent out on either side, some for an Ambuscade, some for Discovery; these falling in upon one another, quickly after they were thus detach'd from their main Bodies, began the Fight at the narrow Passage called *Cynocephalæ* (that is, Dogs heads, which are sharp tops of Hills that stand thick and close to one another, and have gain'd the name from the Likeness of their shape to a Dog's head.) Now many turns and changes hapning, as may well be expected in such uneven passages, sometimes hot in the Pursuit, and sometimes the same Party flying as fast; each General commands out Succours and Recruits from their Camp, as they see their own pressed or giving ground, till at length the Heavens clearing up, let them into a fairer Prospect of all that passed; upon which the whole Armies became Engaged. *Philip* who was in the Right Wing, from the advantage of the hanging ground which he had, pour'd down his Forces upon the *Romans* with such briskness that the stoutest of them could not stand the roughness of the Shock, nor bear up against the pressure of so close-compacted Files. But the Left Wing be-

The Second
Engage-
ment be-
twixt *Titus*
and *Philip*.

βάρβαροι
μαχηται.

ing, by reason of the Hilliness of the Place, more shatter'd and broken, Titus observing it, and cherishing little or no hopes on that side where his own gave ground, makes in all haste to the other; and there charges in upon the Macedonians; who, in regard of the Inequality and Roughness of the Country, could not keep their Body Intire, nor line their Ranks to any great Depth (which is the Principal point of their strength) but were forced to fight man for man, under heavy and unwieldy Armour: For the Macedonian Phalanx is, for its strength, like some masterless Beast, whilst 'tis embodied into one as 'twere, and keeps lock't together, Target to Target, all as in a Piece; but, if once broken, every single Souldier that compos'd it looses of his own private strength; the nature of their Armour is such; and besides, each of them is strong, rather, as he among the rest makes a part of the whole, than in his single self. When these were routed, some gave chase to the Flyers, others charged those Macedonians in the Flanks who were still Fighting, so that the conquering Wing was quickly shatter'd, put to Flight, and threw down their Arms. There were then slain no less then 8000, and about 5000 were taken Prisoners. The Ætolians were the main occasion that Philip himself got safe off. For whilst the Romans were yet in Pursuit, these

these fell to ravaging and plundering the Camp to that degree, that when the others return'd they found no booty in it. This bred at first hard words, Quarrels and misunderstandings betwixt them. But ever after they gall'd Titus more, in ascribing the Victory to themselves, and Prepossessing the Græcians with Reports on their own behalf; in so much that their Poets, and the vulgar sort in the Pamphlets and Songs that were Sung or written of this action, still rank't the Ætolians foremost: but the Verses that were most in every body's mouth were these;

*Without a Tear, without a Sigh
Without a Monument or Grave
Here, Passenger! thou may'st descry
On heaps we thrice ten Thousand Lie,
Alas! no Burial we could have.*

*Ætolian Prowess was our overthrow
And Latian Bands
Which Titus did Command
From the broad Italian Strand
Has laid us Low.*

*Sad Fate of Macedon! Philip's daring
Soul,
Which Lyon like when first he took
the Field
Thought that he might the Universe,
Controul;*

But when, alas! he once began to yield,
Like Stags pursu'd, he fled away,
But far more Swift and more afraid than
they.

This was of *Alcæus* his Composing which
 he did in a Year and mockery to *Philip*, though
 indeed he belyed him in it, as to the number
 of the slain. However being frequently re-
 peated and by almost every body, *Titus* was
 more nettled at it than *Philip*, for the latter
 plaid upon *Alcæus* again, annexing the fol-
 lowing verses by way of Elegy upon him.

What, Traveller! on yonder Hill you see
A Lofty Bark-less, Leave-less Gallow-tree
Stands to reward Alcæus's Poetry.

But such little matters heinously fretted *Ti-*
rus, who affected a Reputation among the
Grecians, and therefore he managed all af-
 ter occurrences by himself, and had but a
 very slender regard for the *Ætolians*. This
 stuck in their Stomachs; and when *Titus*
 listned to terms of accommodation, and had
 admitted of an Embassy upon the proffers of
 the *Macedonian King*; these *Ætolians* made
 it their business to divulge it through all
 the Cities of *Greece*, that he sold *Philip* his
 Peace; and that, at a time, when 'twas in his
 hand to have cut up all the springs and roots
 of

of War, and have laid waste that Empire which
 first put the yoke of servitude upon *Greece*.
 But whilst, with these and the like Rumours,
 the *Ætolians* labour'd to shake the *Roman*
 Confederates; *Philip*, making overtures of
 Submission of himself and Kingdom to the
 Discretion of *Titus* and the *Romans*, puts an
 end to those Jealousies; as *Titus*, by accept-
 ing them, did to the War; for he re-instated
Philip in his Kingdom of *Macedon*, but En-
 joins him at the same time, that he Quit
Greece, that he pay 1000 Talents; and with-
 all, he took from him all his shipping, save 10
 Vessels; and sent away *Demetrius*, one of his
 Sons, Hostage to *Rome*; Improving that short
 time of the Treaty to the best advantage
 could then be made of it, and by way of Pro-
 vision against an after-clap. For *Hannibal*
 the *African*, a profest Enemy to the *Roman*
 name, an Exile from his own Country, and
 not long since arriv'd at King *Antiochus* his
 Court, lay at that Prince, not to be want-
 ing to the good Fortune that had been
 hitherto so propitious to his Affairs: for his
 Arms as yet had never wanted a Success, and
 the Grandeur of his actions had purchased
 him the Sirname of GREAT; in so much
 that he began to level his aim at the Uni-
 versal Monarchy, but above all to make
 some attempt upon the *Romans*. Had not
 therefore *Titus* upon a principle of Prudence
 and

and Fore-sight lent an Ear to Peace, but, instead of that, Antiochus had found Philip holding the Romans play in Greece; and these two the most Puissant and Warlike Princes of that age, and confederated for their common Interests against the Roman State, Rome might once more have run as great a Risk and been a-fresh reduced to no less extremities than she had felt under Hannibal. But now Titus opportunely clapping in this Peace between the Wars; pruning away thereby the present danger, before that which was but in expectation had sprouted out: He at once disappointed Antiochus of his first Hopes, and Philip of his last Refuge; now when the ten Commissioners, delegated to Titus from the Senate, advised him to restore the rest of Greece to their Liberty, but that Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrius should be kept Garrison'd for a Bulwark and protection against Antiochus,

* *καταγο-
ρίαις λαμ-
πεσι, λαμ-
πεῖς τὰς
πόλεις ἀ-
ναρρίστη-
σαι.* The Ætolians, ever * eminent in the way of slandering, shook the Faith of the Cities here in an eminent degree, for they call upon Titus to knock off the Shackles of Greece (for so Philip used to term the aforesaid three Cities.) They ask the Grecians, whether 'twere not matter of much consolation to them, that, though their Chains weigh'd heavier, yet they were now neater and better polish'd than

than formerly? Whether Titus were not deservedly admired by them as their Benefactor, who had unshackled the feet of Greece, and tied her up by the Neck? Titus vex'd and angry hereat, made it his Request to the Senate, and at last prevailed in it, that the Garrisons in these Cities should be dismantled, that so the Grecians might be no longer Debtors to him, for a partial, but intire Favour. The Isthmian Games were now renewed, and multitudes set crowded in the Theatre to see the Exercises; for Greece, who of late days not onely found Respite from War, and was in a full Possession of Peace, but entertain'd farther hopes of regaining their Liberty too, made Holiday for it; as these were in celebrating, silence was commanded by sound of Trumpet; and the Cryer, stepping forth amidst the Spectatours, makes Proclamation, That the Roman Senate, and Titus Quintius the Proconsular General, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, restored the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocæans, Eubæans, Achaïans, Pthiotæans, Magnetians, Thessalians, and Perræbians to their own Country, Laws and Liberty; took off all Impositions upon them, and withdrew their Garrisons thence. At the first, many heard not at all, and others not Distinctly, what was said; but an odd kind of Bustle and Stir there was in the Theatre, some wondring,

Liv. Dec.
4. L. 3.

wondring, some asking, some calling out to the Cryer ; Repeat that *again*, Repeat that *again*. When therefore fresh silence was made, the Cryer raising his Voice, his Speech more easily reach'd the Ears of the Company. The shout which in that *Extase of Joy* they gave was so incredibly great that 'twas heard to Sea. The people all jump up upon their Legs, there was no farther regard to the Diversions they came for ; but all fell a leaping, and Dancing, and hugging one another. And all salute Titus with the Title of Saviour and Defender of Greece. † The strength there is in Voices and the many Relations we have, speaking excessive things that way, were seen *verified* upon this occasion. For the Crows, that were then accidentally flying over the Stage, fell down dead into it upon the shout. The breaking the Air *must needs be* the cause of it, for the Voices being numerous, and the Acclamation violent, and the air thereby scatter'd and routed thence as 'twere, it could no longer give support to the Birds but lets them tumble, like one that should * attempt to walk upon a Vacuum, or such empty space, which affords nothing to set the Foot upon, unless we should rather imagine these Crows to fall and die, shot with the noise as with a Dart. And withall, there may possibly be a circular agitation of the air, acquiring (like *Marine Vortexes*)

† τὸ πᾶσι
καὶ ἀνθρώποις
καὶ θεοῖς
ἐν παντί
καὶ ἐν ὅλῳ
τῷ κόσμῳ.

* καὶ ἐάν τις
παρὲν βα-
λεῖται.

texas) an additional strength from the excess of its Fluctuation which whirls it round.

.But for Titus ; (The sports being now quite at an end) so beset was he on every side, and by such multitudes, that had he not, spying the throng and concourse of the people, timely withdrawn, he would scarce 'tis thought have ever got clear of them. But when they had tired themselves with Acclamations all about his Pavilion, and night was now come, whatever Friends or Fellow-Citizens they saw, they fell embracing and hugging them, and from that, to Feasting and Carousing together. At which, no doubt, redoubling then their Joy, they begin to recollect and talk of the State of Greece, what Wars She had run through in defence of her Liberty, yet was ever perhaps Mistress of a more settled or grateful one than what others arms put into her hands : that by the Bounty of Titus She now bears away without, almost, one drop of Blood, without the mournful effects of War, the most glorious of rewards, and best worth the contending for. That courage and wisdom are, indeed, Rarities amongst men. But of all that's good, a just man is the most scarce. For such as Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias and Alcibiades, knew how to play the General's part, how to manage a War, how to bring off their men Victorious by Land and Sea ; but

but how to employ that Success to generous and honest purposes, they were far enough to seek. For should a man except the achievement at *Marathon*, the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, the Engagements at *Platææ* and *Thermopylæ*, *Cimon's* Exploits at *Eurymedon*, and on the coasts of *Cyprus*, Greece fought all her other Battels against and to enslave her self. She erected all her Trophies to her own shame and misery, and was brought to ruine and desolation by the Villany and ambition of her Rulers. But a Foreign Nation who might rather be expected to retain some small Sparks, something of a Tincture derived to them from their ancient Sires; a Nation from whom it may be wondred that Greece should reap any design'd benefit, or indeed a good word; yet these are they who have retrieved Greece from her severest Pressures, and deepest Extremities; have rescued her out of the hands of insulting Lords and Tyrants and reinstated her in her former Liberties.

Thus they entertain'd their tongues and thoughts; whilst *Titus* his actions made good what had been Proclaim'd. For he immediately dispatch'd away *Lentulus* to *Asia*, to set the *Bergillians* free, *Titillius* to *Thrace*, to see the Garrisons of *Philipp* removed out of the Towns and Islands there; *Publius Julius* set Sail in order to the treating with

γλισχρα
κοινωνη-
ματα ος
παλαις γε-
νης.

with *Antiochus* about the freedom of the *Grecians* under him. *Titus* himself pass'd on to *Chalcis*, and after sailing thence to *Magnesia* he dismantled the Garrisons there, and surrendred the Government into the peoples hands. At *Argos* he was chosen Judge or Moderator of the *Nemæan* Games, and did his part in the management of that Solemnity extraordinary well; there he made a second Publication by the Cryer, of Liberty to the *Grecians*: And still through all the Cities he pass'd, he prest upon them conformity to their Laws; A constant practice of Justice, and Unity and Friendship one towards another. The Seditious among them he Quell'd, the Banish'd he reduc'd, and in short, his conquest over the *Macedonians*, gave him not a more sensible pleasure, than to find himself prevalent in reconciling Greeks with Greeks, so that their Liberty seem'd now the least part of the kindness he conferr'd upon them.

The story goes that when *Lycurgus* the Oratour had rescued *Xenocrates* the Philosopher from the Collectors who were hurrying him away to Prison for the *Metæcia* (Taxes which Strangers residing at Athens were to pay) and prosecuted them at Law for the affront offer'd to the Philosopher, he afterwards meeting the Children of *Lycurgus*, "Children (says he) I am not now behind-hand with your Father in point of gratitude;

Μετῆνια.

"gratitude; for all *THE WORLD* cries him up for what he did for me. But the Returns which attended *Titus Quintius* and the *Romans*, for their beneficence to the *Greeks* terminated not in empty Praises only, for these proceedings gain'd them a deserved Credit and Trust in the World, and open'd a new door to Empire. For now many Nations not onely admitted of the Governours set over them by *Rome*, but even sent and intreated to be under their Protection. Neither was this done by the Populacy alone, by some petty Common-wealths, or single Cities. But King oppress'd by Kings cast themselves into their Protecting hand. In so much that in a very short time, (though perchance not without the finger of God in it) all the World did Homage to them. *Titus* also himself valued himself most upon the Liberty he restor'd to *Greece*, for having dedicated silver Targets, together with his own Shield, to *Apollo* at *Delphos*, he Inscribed upon them the following Verses.

*Triumph, ye Spartan Kings, ye Royal
Twins,*

*The equal Sons of Tyndarus and Jove,
Who in swift Horsemanship have plac'd your
Love;*

*Titus, sprung from the Great Æneas Loins,
Presents to you, of Grecian Progeny,
The best of Gifts, a regain'd Liberty.*

He

He offer'd also to *Apollo* a golden Crown, with this Inscription on't,

*This Golden Crown upon thy locks Divine,
Thou bright Latona's Son, did Titus place;
Titus, the Leader of th' Ænean Race:
Bestow on him some equal strength to Thine,
Thou distant-striking God! that he
May share a Glory with thy Deity.*

Now hath the same thing twice betided the *Grecians* in the City of *Corinth*; For *Titus* then, and *Nero* again in our days, both at *Corinth*, and both alike, at the Celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, permitted the *Grecians* to enjoy their own Laws and Liberty. The former (as hath been said) proclaim'd it by the Cryer, but *Nero* did it in the publick meeting-Place, from the Tribunal, in an Oration he there made to the People. (But this hapned a good while after:) *Titus* after this commences a gallant and just War upon *Nabis*, that most Profligate and Villainous Tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*, but herein at long-run he fail'd the expectations of the *Grecians*. For when he had an opportunity of taking him, he Industriously slipt it, and struck up a Peace with him, leaving *Sparta* to bewail an undeserved Slavery: whether it were that he feared, if the War should be protracted, *Rome* would

*Titus made
Peace with
Nabis.*

R r

send

send a new General who might rob him of the Glory of *ir*; or that the Emulation and Envy of *Philopæmen's* wreaths, (a Man that had signalized himself among the *Grecians* upon all other occasions, but in that War especially had done wonders both for matter of Courage and Counsel; one whom the *Grecians* celebrated in their Theatres, and put into the same Balance of Glory with *Titus*,) touch'd him to the Quick. For he scorn'd that an *Arcadian*; a Captain and Leader, in a few Rencontres upon the confines of his Country should be look'd on by them with an equal admiration to the Roman Consul, who Warr'd on the behalf of all Greece. But besides, *Titus* was not without an Apology too for what he did, (to wit,) that he put an end to the War only then when he foresaw that the Tyrant's Destruction must have been attended with a sweeping train of Ruine upon the other *Spartans*.

The *Achæans* indeed decreed, and studied, to honour *Titus* in many things, but none seem'd to come up to the height of the Actions that merited them, unless it were one Present they made him, which affected and pleas'd him beyond all the rest; and 'twas this: The *Romans*, who in the War with *Hannibal* had the misfortune to be taken Captives, were sold about here and there, and dispers'd into Slavery; 1200 in number, were at that

that time in Greece. That turn of their Fortune always rendred them Objects of Compassion, but more particularly then, as well it might, when some met their Sons, some their Brothers, some their Acquaintance; Slaves, Freeman; Captives, Conquerours. *Titus* though deeply concern'd on their behalf, yet took none of them from their Masters by Constraint. But the *Achæans* redeeming them at five Pounds a Man, brought them altogether into one place, and made a Present of them to Him, as he was just going on Ship-board, so that he now Sail'd with a full Gale of Satisfaction; His generous Actions procur'd him as generous Returns, worthy of so brave a Man, and so intimate a Lover of their Country. This seem'd the most Pompous part of *Titus's* all his succeeding Triumph, for these Redeemed *Romans*, (as 'tis the custom for Slaves upon their manumission, to shave their Heads, and wear a peculiar kind of Caps,) followed in that Habit, *Titus's* Triumphant Chariot; But to add to the Glory of this Shew, there were the *Grecian* Helmets, the *Macedonian* Targets and Javelins, and the rest of the Spoils bore along in Pomp and Ostentation before him; besides vast Sums of Money, for as *Itanus* relates it, there was carried in this Triumph 3713 pounds weight of Massie Gold, 43270 of Silver, 14514 pieces of coin'd Gold, called *Philipicks*, all this

over and above the 1000 Talents which Philip owed, and which the Romans were afterwards prevail'd upon, but chiefly by the agency and mediation of *Titus*, to remit to Philip, withal declaring him their Allie and Confederate, and sending him home his Hostage-Son.

After this *Antiochus* makes an Expedition into Greece attended with a numerous Fleet, and powerful Army, soliciting the Cities there to Sedition and Rebellion: The *Ætolians* did abet and second him, for they of a long time had born a grudge and secret Enmity to the Romans and now suggest to him as matter of manifesto, for a cause and pretext of War, that he came to bring the Grecians Liberty. When alas! they never less wanted it, for they were free before, but, for lack of a more smooth and specious Pretence, they intrust him to use a word of the nearest and dearest Import: The Romans, in the interim, (fearing from them, an Insurrection and Revolt; and, from him, the Reputation of his Puissance) Dispatch'd away the Consul *Manius Attilius* to take the charge of the War, with regard to *Antiochus*; and *Titus*, as Embassador, out of regard to the Grecians; some of whom he no sooner saw but he confirm'd them in the Roman Interests: others who began to falter (like a Physician that prescribes Remedies in time, before the Disease seize the Vitals)

tals) he † underpropt, and kept their affections and good-will they had born to him, from warping. Some few there were whom the *Ætolians* were before-hand with, and had so wholly tainted and perverted that he could do no good on them; yet these, howsoever angry and exasperated he was against them before, he saved and Protected, when the Engagement was over. For *Antiochus*, receiving a Defeat at *Thermopylae*, not only fled the Field, but hoisted Sail instantly for Asia. *Manius* the Consul laid Siege himself to some of the *Ætolians*; others he allowed King Philip to ravage and waste at his pleasure; for instance the *Dolopi* and *Magnetians* on one hand, the *Athamani* and *Aperanti* on the other were harassed and ransackt by the *Macedonians*, whilst *Manius* laid *Heraclæ* waste, and besieg'd *Naupactus*, then in the *Ætolians* hands. But *Titus* still with a commiserating care for Greece, makes over from *Peloponnesus* to the Consul; at first he falls a chiding him, that the Victory should be owing alone to his arms, and he to suffer Philip to bear away the Prize and profit of the War: he to sit lazily wreaking his anger upon a single Town, whilst the *Macedonians* over-ran several Nations and Kingdoms. *Titus* hapned to stand then in view of the Besieged, they no sooner spied him out, but they call to him from

their Wall, they stretch forth their hands, they supplicate and intreat him; at that time he said not a word more, by way of answer to them or otherwise, by turning himself above with tears in his Eyes, he went his way; some little while after, he discoursed the matter so effectually with Manius, that he wrought him off from his Passion, and prevail'd with him to give a Truce and time to the *Aetolians*, to send Deputies to Rome to Petition the Senate for terms of Moderation. But the hardest task, and that which put *Titus* to the greatest plunge, was to intreat with *Manius* for the *Chalcidians*, who had incenc'd him on account of a Marriage, which *Antiochus* had made in their City, even whilst the War was on Foot: A match no ways suitable for their Age, he an ancient man, she a very Girl; and as little proper for the time, for a General to marry at the Head of an Army, and unbend his thoughts, to such dalliances, in the midst of a War. But deeply smitten and charmd he was with the Damsel. She was the Daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, and none of the young Ladies there, were comparable to her for Beauty: on this occasion, the *Chalcidians* both embrac'd the King's Interests with zeal and alacrity, and yielded him their City for his Retreat and Refuge during the War. Thither therefore he made with all speed when he was routed and fled; and shelter'd himself

self in *Chalcis*, but without making any stay, for taking this young Lady, and his Money and Friends with him, away he Sails to *Asia*. And now *Manius's* Indignation carrying him in all haste against the *Chalcidians*, *Titus* posts after him, endeavouring to assuage and divert the Stream; at length what with much Intreaties to him, what with a sedulous application to others of the greatest Quality and Interest in Rome, he work't upon him.

The *Chalcidians* thus deriving their safety from *Titus*, dedicated to him all the best and most magnificent of their Structures ^{and mud-} which they had before consecrated to other ^{town.} Gods, whose Inscriptions may be seen to run thus to this Day. *THE PEOPLE* dedicate *THIS* † *GYMNASIUM* TO *TITUS* AND TO *HERCULES*: so again, *THE PEOPLE* consecrate *THIS* * *DELPHINIUM* TO *TITUS* AND TO *HERCULES*, and what's yet more, even to our time, there is a Priest of *Titus* formally Elected and Declared; besides, they Sacrifice to him as to a God, and when their † Libations are over, they sing a set Song, much of which for the length of it we omit, but shall transcribe what they have in the close of this Sonnet,

Roman Faith we all adore.

A Faith so white, a Faith so pure:

R r 4

By

† The place where the Exercises of Wrestling and the like were perform'd.
* To the Temple of Apollo.

† Eating and drinking in a Festival or part of the things Sacrific'd, and after the offering thereof.

By all that's Sacred we our selves adjure
 To honour Roman Faith for evermore.
 Sing, Muses, sing of mighty Jove,
 Sing of Rome's and Titus's Love,
 Repeated Io's, Pæan's too,
 All to Roman Faith are due
 O Saviour Titus, and to you.

Other parts of Greece also heap'd Honours
 upon him futable to his merits, but that
 which conferr'd Honour on his very Ho-
 nours, and stamp'd sincerity and truth
 upon them, was the wonderful heartiness
 and affection they did them with, upon a
 sense of that Moderation and Equity that
 was natural to him. For if he were at a-
 ny time at variance with any body upon
 the account of business, or in point of Emu-
 lation and Honour (as once with Philopæmen,
 and another time with Diophanes Pretor
 of the Achæans) his Resentments* went
 not far, nor did they ever break out into
 acts, but when it had vented it self with a
 civil boldness in words, there was an end of it.
 In fine, no body charges malice or bitterness
 upon his Nature, but many have imputed
 Haughtiness and Levity to it; but otherwise
 he was the most complaisant, sweet man, for
 Conversation in the World; and spoke the
 most pleasant obliging things, with a great
 deal of acuteness and wit. For instance,
 design.

in 871 lines
 or 118 lines.

* in 87
 pages

Titus his
 witty an-
 swers.

designing once to divert the Achæans from
 their purpose, who had the Conquest of the
 Isle Zacynthus in their Eye, "If (says he)
 "they but put their Head out of Peloponne-
 "sus, they may hazard themselves as much as
 "a Tortois out of its shell. Again when he and
 Philip first met to treat of a Cessation and
 Peace, The latter complaining that Titus
 came with a mighty train, but himself
 came ALONE, and unattended: Yes,
 "replies Titus smartly, you have made your
 "self ALONE, by killing your Friends
 "and Relations out of the way. At another
 time Dinocrates the Messenian, having been
 fuddled at a merry meeting in Rome, danc'd
 there in a Woman's habit, and the next day
 addresses to Titus for assistance in his design
 to get Messene out of the Achæans hands. "I
 "shall (says he) consider of it, but can't but
 "wonder that you who are enterprizing De-
 "signs of that moment can find leisure to
 "revell and sing in your Cups. When again
 the Embassadors of Antiochus were recount-
 ing to those of Achæa, the various multitudes
 of their Royal Master's Forces, and ran over
 a long Catalogue of hard and sundry names
 that they had: Isupp'd once, (says Titus)
 with mine Host, and could not but chide
 him for that choice of Dishes he had got
 me, and withall I admir'd whence he had
 so readily furnish'd himself with that store
 and

Polybius
 (in his 17
 book p. 747
 Ed. Caus.)
 tells this,
 a little dif-
 ferently.

and variety; Mine Host tells me, *Sir*, to confess the truth 'tis all Hogs-meat, but the Sauce and Cookery has made it as to many several things. My Advice to you is the same, ye men of *Achaëa*, stand no more amazed at *Antiochus* his might when ye hear tell of Pikemen, Pioneirs, Halberdiere and the like, for they are all but *STRILANS* differently armed.

Titus made
Censor.

After these his Gallantries perform'd in *Greece*, and that the War with *Antiochus* was at an end; *Titus* was created Censor, (which is the most eminent Office, and in a manner the Top-preferment, in that Commonwealth.) The Son of *Marcellus*, who had been five times Consul, was his Colleague. These by virtue of their Office cashier'd four of the Senatours, for not having Nobility enough of Birth to qualifie them for the Place: They admitted all that offer'd themselves, to be Inroll'd free Denizens of *Rome*, whose Parents had Enjoy'd a Freedom before. But this was more by constraint, than their own Choice; for, *Terentius Leo*, the then Tribune of the People, to spight the Nobility, spurr'd on the Populacy, to order it to be done. There were at this time in the City two most Eminent and brave Persons, *Africanus Scipio*, and *Marcus Cato*, but there was no good understanding betwixt them: The former *Titus* made President of the Senate, as a man of principal Dignity and worth, but grew

grew an Enemy to *Cato* upon this unlucky occasion; *Titus* had a Brother *Lucius Flaminius*, in no respects of a Nature comparable to his, but withall highly dissolute and licentious in point of his Pleasures, and a Scoffer at all Sobriety: There was a Youth whom he lov'd, for a vitious purpose, and used to be naught with: Him *Lucius* carry'd with him not only when he had the Army under him, but even when the charge of a Province was committed to him, this Lad still accompanied him thither: one day at a drinking-bout, the Youngster wantoning with *Lucius*; I love you, *Sir*, so dearly (says he) that, preferring your satisfaction before my own, I have forebore seeing the Sword-Players, though I have never seen a Man kill'd in my Life. *Lucius* delighted with what the Boy said; Let not that trouble thee, my Dear. (says he) for if thou hast a mind to see a Man kill'd I'll quickly satisfy thy longing; and with that, orders a condemn'd Man to be fetch'd out of the Prison, and the Executioner to be sent for, and commands him to strike off the Malefactor's Head in the midst of their Jollity, before they rose from Table. *Valerius Antias* varies the story a little, in that he tells us *Lucius* did not this to gratify his Boy, but his Miss. But *Livy* out of the Oration of *Cato*, relates it, that a revolted *Gaul* coming with

an Enemy
Cato.

* cum Con-
sul esset in
Gallia.
Says Cato.
in Cicero
de se-
nectate.

Cicero in
his Cato
Major a-
grees with
Antias,
the words
are, Exo-
ratus in
Convivio
a Sorto
est.

with his Wife and Children to the Door, *Lucius* took him into the Banqueting-Room and kill'd him with his own hand to gratifie his Paramour Boy. *Cato* 'tis probable, might say this by way of aggravation of the Crime he stood charg'd with: But that the slain was no such Fugitive, but a Prisoner, and one Condemn'd to die, as well *Cicero*, (as others,) in his Treatise of Old Age confirms; where he brings in *Cato* himself giving that account of the matter. However this is certain, *Cato* during his Censorship, made a narrow and severe scrutiny into the Senatours Lives, in order to the Purging and Reforming the House, and then put *Lucius* out, though he had been once Consul before: His Brother looks upon this as a Proceeding that reflected Dishonour upon himself; Hereupon both of them come out, and appeal to the People in a suppliant submissive manner, not without tears in their Eyes, requesting barely that *Cato* might but shew the reason and cause of his fixing such a Stain and Infamy upon so honourable a Family. The Citizens thought it a modest and moderate request. *Cato* for all this, ne'er shrinks for the matter, but out he comes, and standing up with his Colleague, Interrogates *Titus* whether he knew the Story of the Treat. *Titus* answering in the Negative, *Cato* gives him a Relation of it, conjuring with all

ταπεινὸν
δεξιόχρ.
ῥῆμα.

all his Brother *Lucius* to say, whether every syllable of it were not true. *Lucius* made no reply, whereupon the People adjudg'd the disgrace just and suitable to his Demerits, and waited upon *Cato* home from the Tribunal in great State. But *Titus* still so deeply resented his Brother's degrading, that he struck in with those who had born a long grudge to *Cato*; and winning over a major part of the Senate to him, he revok'd and made void all the Contracts, Leases and Bargains made formerly by *Cato*, relating to the publick Revenues, and stirr'd up many and violent actions and accusations against him: But how well, and how like a good Citizen, I know not, for a person to reserve an Inverterate hatred against a lawful Magistrate, an excellent Common-wealths-man, and in the cause of a private man, who stood indeed related to him, but unworthy to be so, and a man that had but his Desert. But notwithstanding all this, when afterwards a Shew was exhibited to the people in the Theatre, the Senatours sitting orderly up above as they were wont, *Lucius* was spied at the lower end, set in a mean dishonourable place: it made an Impression upon the people, nor could they longer endure the sight, but set a crying, up, up, up, till he was got in among those of Consular Dignity, who received him into their Seat. This natural Ambition

bition of *Titus* was well enough lookt upon by the World, whilst the Wars we have given a Relation of, afforded competent Fuel to feed it (for after the expiration of his Consulship he had a command of Military Tribune, which no body prest upon him:*) But being now out of all Employ in the Government, and advanced in years, he stands more condemned, that that poor remainder

απαρδω-
ντα πρὸς δό-
ξαν.

of Life, wholly unfit for action, should strut and swell with thoughts of Glory, and put on such youthful passions which made him not master of himself. Some such transport, 'tis thought, set him against *Hannibal*, an action, which lost him the love and hearts of many. For *Hannibal* having fled his Country, first took Sanctuary with *Antiochus*; but he having been glad to strike up a Peace, after the Battel in *Phrygia*, *Hannibal* was put to shift for himself by a second Flight, and, after a Ramble through many

* Περὶ τὴν
θεογονίαν
αὐτοῦ.

Titus Embassadour to *Prusias*, Procures the death of *Hannibal*.
Countries, fixeth at length in *Bithynia*,* proffering the Service of his Sword to their King *Prusias*. None at *Rome*, but knew where he was, but they looked upon him, at the same time, with contempt, for his little Power, and great Age; one whom Fortune had quite cast off. *Titus*, coming Embas-

sent there, it stir'd up Resentments in him to think that he was yet alive. And though *Prusias* used much Intercession and Intreaties in favour of him, as a man of his acquaintance, a Friend, a Suppliant that cast himself into his arms for refuge, *Titus* was not to be intreated. There was an antient Oracle it seems, which prophesied thus of *Hannibal's* End.

Libysian Earth shall Hannibal Inclose.

He interpreted this to be meant of *Libia* that is *Africa*, and that he should be Buried in *Carthage*, as if he might yet expect to return and live there again, and onely there to Die. But there is a Sandy place in *Bithynia* bordering on the Sea, and near that a little Village call'd *Libysa*. Hither 'twas *Hannibal's* chance to retire himself, and having ever from the beginning had a distrust of the easiness and ductile Nature of *Prusias*, and a fear of the *Romans*, he had long before, ordered seven Vaults, as so many Outlets, to be digg'd in his house, leading from his Lodging, and running a great way under ground, and so many several ways opposite to one another, but all undiscernible from without; As soon, therefore, as he heard what *Titus* had order'd, he attempted through these Caves to make his Escape; but finding them beset with the King's Guards, he resolv'd upon making away

away with himself. Some say that wrapping his *outward* Garment about his Neck, he commanded his Servant to set his Knee against his Back-parts, and not to leave twisting, and pulling of it, till he had quite strangled and kill'd him. But others say, he drank Bulls-blood after the Example of *Themistocles* and *Midas*: *Livy* writes that he had Poyson in a readiness which he mix't for the purpose, and that taking the Cup into his hand, "Let us ease (says he) the Romans of their continual dread and care, who think it long and tedious to await the Death of an Hated Old man. Yet shall not *Titus* bear away a Glorious Victory, nor worthy of those Ancestours who sent to caution *Pyrrhus*, an Enemy, and a Conquerour too, against the Poyson prepar'd for him by Traytors. Thus various are the Reports of *Hannibal's* Death, but when the News of it came to the Seriatours Ears, some had an Indignation against *Titus* for it, blaming as well his officiousness, as his Cruelty; who, when there was neither Reason of State, nor other Circumstance to oblige it, but out of Preposterous affectation of Glory, and to raise himself a Name from his dead ashes, sent him to his Grave, who, like a Bird that hangs his Wings, or has moulted his Tail-through age, was let alone to live Tamely.

Then

Then began they to set out, with fresh Eulogies, the Clemency, the Courage, the Gallantry of *Scipio Africanus*; they admire him now more than ever, for when he had vanquished in *Africa* the till then Invincible and Terrible *Hannibal*, he neither banish'd him his Country, or exacted it of his Country-men, that they should put him into his hands. Nay at a Parly just before they joyn'd Battel, *Scipio* embrac'd him, and in the Peace made after it, † he put no hard Article upon him, nor insulted over his declin'd Fortune. Report goes, that they had another meeting again at *Ephesus*, and, as they were walking together, *Hannibal* Industiously took the upper hand, *Africanus* let him alone, and kept walking on without the least Concern: Afterwards they fell to talk of Generals; *Hannibal* affirming that *Alexander* was the bravest Commander the World had ever seen, but next to him *Pyrrhus*, and the third was Himself: *Africanus*, with a Gentle smile, asks, What would you have said, if I had never Vanquish't you? O *Scipio* (says he) I would not then have made myself the third, but First Commander. The Generality of *Rome* had *Scipio* in Veneration for these Gallantries. But they observed so wide a Disparity in this Deportment of *Titus*, that they revild him, as one, who had put his Sickle into other mens Corn, had laid his

The Commendations of *Scipio*.

† ὁ δὲ ἐν ὅππῃ
τάλινον.

Sf

Hands

hands upon another's dead Corpse. Not but that there were them, who put a better Construction upon, and applauded the action, who look'd upon a living Hannibal as Fire, which wanted onely Bellows to blow it into a Flame. For when he was in the Prime, and Flower of his Age, 'twas not his Body, 'twas not his Hand that struck Terrour into the Roman Eagles, but his Head-piece, his experience and skill in Martial Affairs, joyn'd with an innate malice and inveterate rancour against the Roman name, which doth not impair with Age. For the Temper and bent of the Soul keeps to its Pole, and Participates of the same Nature still; but Fortune varies her Points, and even in her greatest Declination, upon new hopes of Success, rallies together for new attempts, all such whom Hatred and Revenge keep ready list'd for Action. But the After games that were plaid Rome make yet farther to the Justification of Titus. For first Aristonicus the Son of a Fidler's Daughter, upon the Reputation of being the natural Son of Eumenes, fill'd all Asia with Tumults and Rebellion. Then again, Mithridates, after a Total Rout given him by Sylla and Fimbrias, and so vast a slaughter, as well among his prime Officers, as common Souldiers, made head again against Lucullus, with a puissant Army both by Sea and Land. Besides, Hannibal was never

ὑπομένειν
τὸ φῶς ἐν
τῷ ἡμέρῃ.

reduc'd to so contemptible a State as Caius Marius, for the former had something reserv'd to him, the amity of a King, a Pension and subsistence under him, the Enjoyment of his Friends, and, what was yet more dangerous a trust and Charge in the Navy, and over the Horse and Foot of Prusias. Whereas the condition of Marius was so Despicable, as to be look't upon by Rome with Laughter and Contempt, whilst he wander'd about Africa Destitute and Beggarly; and yet a little after, when in their own Streets, their Backs were expos'd to the Rods, and their Necks to the Axe, they Prostrate themselves to the same Marius. So that there is nothing either Great or Little at this Moment, which will hold so to all Futurity; for nothing puts an end to the mutability and vicissitude of things, but what does so to their very Being: Some therefore tell us, that Titus did not this of his own head, but, that he was joyn'd in Commission with Lucius Scipio, and that the whole affair of the Embassy, was to effect Hannibal's Death. But now that we find no farther mention in History, of any thing done by Titus, either in point of War, or in the Administration of the Government, but that he Died in Peace; 'Tis time to look upon him as he stands in parison with Phelopœmen.

ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
σφαῖρῃ
ἡδύοι καὶ
μαστιγῇ
ἡδύοι καὶ
σεκλινῶν.

μία τῇ με-
ταλλάξιν
τελευτῇ καὶ
τῇ ἐν.

THE
COMPARISON
OF
TITUS Q. FLAMINIUS,
AND
PHILOPOEMEN.

First then for Greatness of Good-Turns which *Titus* conferr'd on *Greece*, neither *Philopæmen*, nor many Braver men than he, can make good the Parallel: For, under him, *Greece* drew upon *Greece* to her Ruine; But, in *Titus*, a Stranger to *Greece*, fought for her Defence. And at the time when *Philopæmen* went over into *Crete*, destitute of any means, whereby to succour his Besieged Country-men, then did *Titus*, by a defeat given to *Philip* in the heart of *Greece*, set both them, and all their Cities free. Again, if we examine into the Battels fought By each of these; *Philopæmen*, whilst he was the *Achæans* General, slew more *Grecians*, than *Titus* in aiding the *Grecians* slew *Macedonians*. As to their Failings. Ambition was *Titus* his Weak-side, and Obstinacy *Philopæmen*'s; in the former anger was easily kindled, in the

the other, 'twas as hardly quench'd. For *Titus* reserv'd to *Philip* the Royal Majesty, and dignity of his Kingdom; besides, he Pardon'd the *Ætolians*, and stood their Friend again: But *Philopæmen*, exasperated against his own Country, took from them the Contributions which the adjacent Villages paid. *Titus* was ever constant to those he had once befriended, the other upon any grudge, as prone to Cancel kindneses; for he who had afore-time been a Benefactour to the *Lacedæmonians*, afterwards laid their Walls Level with the Ground, wasted their Country, and in the end chang'd and destroy'd the whole frame of their Government: He seems, in truth, to have Prodigall'd away his own Life, through Passion and Perverseness; for he fell upon the *Messenians* with an eagerness as unsuitable, as unseasonable, not with that Conduct and Caution that *Titus* led on his men with. But the many Battels he fought, the many Trophies he won, got *Philopæmen* a deeper Experience. for *Titus* decided the matter betwixt *Philip* and him in two Engagements, but *Philopæmen* came off Victorious, in more than ten thousand Rencounters, to all which Fortune had almost no Pretence, so much was owing to his skill. Besides, *Titus* got his Renown, assisted by the power of a flourishing *Rome*, the other flourish'd under a declined *Greece*, so that this Man's

Sf 3

Gallantry

Gallantry was owing to himself alone; *Roma*
 shar'd in the *Glory* of the other. The one had
 Brave men under him, the other made his
 Brave, by being over them; and though all
Philopæmen's actions, having no other Scene
 than his own Country, no other Enemy than Gre-
 cians to Cope with, afford no Instances of a
 * His mi- * Virtue Fortunate in the Subject of it; yet,
 fortune
 'twas so they do of one Prevalent in its Success, and
 have always where all other advantages are Equal, Cou-
 his arms rage is sure to bring Victory over to her side.
 employed He had, indeed, to do with two the most
 against some part of Warlike Nations of all Greece, the *Cretans* on
 Greece. the one hand, and the *Lacedemonians* on the
 other; the craftyest of them, he master'd by
 art and subtilty, the stoutest he made to stoop
 to his Valour. It may be said withal, that
Titus, having his men arm'd and disciplin'd
 to his hand, * reap'd Laurels ready wreath'd
 for him: Whereas *Philopæmen* was forc'd to
 Introduce a Discipline, and Tacticks of his own,
 and to new-mould and model his Souldiery
 in those Points; so that, that which is of
 greatest Import towards ensuring a Victory,
 (they being defective therein before,) was
 owing to his Invention, whilst the other had
 it put into his hand, to help him on to Con-
 quest. *Philopæmen*, therefore, effected ma-
 ny Gallant things with his own hand, but
Titus, none; Insomuch that one *Archedemus*
 an *Ætolian* one day plaid upon him, That
 whereas

whereas, *Philopæmen* ran with his drawn
 Sword, where he saw the *Macedonians* keep
 closest lock'd and press'd him hardest; *Titus*
 stood still, fell a Praying, and with hands
 stretch'd out to Heaven, call'd to the Gods for
 aid: 'Tis true, *Titus* acquitted himself excellent-
 ly well, both as a Governour, and as an Em-
 bassadour; but *Philopæmen* was no less servicea-
 ble and useful to the *Achæans* in the capacity
 of a private man, than in that of a Comman-
 der. For when he was General, he restor'd
 the *Messenians* to their Liberty, and clear'd
 their City from *Nabis*. But when he rescu'd
 the *Lacedemonians*, and shut the Gates of
Sparta against the General *Diophanes* and
Titus who would have entred it, he was then
 but a private Person. He had a nature so a-
 dapted and cut out for Empire and Command,
 that, when occasion serv'd, or the publick good
 requir'd it, he knew how to Govern the
 Laws themselves, and not always to Govern
 himself by the strict rules of them, for he
 waited not the Formality of being elected into
 Command by the Governed, but put them
 presently upon Service, if the case requir'd it.
 Esteeming of him as the truer General, who
 consulted and understood their Interests, not
 who was chosen to the Employment. In Fine,
 the Equity, Clemency, and Humanity of
Titus towards the *Grecians* speak a Great and
 Generous nature in him; but the actions of
 S f 4 *Philopæ-*

Philopæmen, full of Courage, and forward to assert his Countrys Liberty against the Romans, carry something Greater in them. For 'tis not a task of that difficulty, to gratifie the *Indigent* and distressed, as 'tis to bear up against, and adventure angring the Powerful. To conclude, since 'tis hard to draw from the Premisses, the true difference of their merits, and to which a Preference is due; Consider, Reader, whether we may seem to judge amiss betwixt them, if we let this Grecian Heroe bear away the Crown for Military conduct, and Warlike skill, and the Roman for Justice and Clemency.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Have in the foregoing Translation, taken a Liberty (Common with many Translatours of old Authours into modern Languages) to add, by way of Explanation and Paraphrase, beyond what I shall undertake to shew to a word in the Original. 'Tis true, that such Versions which are but Subsidiary, (as the Latin, for the most part) and not intended to be read apart, but to help out the Reader of an Original by a Glance upon occasion, are, or may be, most Commendable when most *κατὰ νόον*, and give you word for word. But where a Translation is calculated for other purposes, and to let the present age, into the Sense, and knowledge of the ancient, who have no Curiosity, or no time to learn their words, a looser Interpretation may be best, provided it be faithful to the Author's Sense, 'tis certainly more palatable, where 'tis well Cook'd, and greater skill and caution is required in the dressing it: But yet, all that is addition, ought to be so distinguish'd (either in Parenthesis, or by a different Character, or the like) that the Reader may not be misled; for not onely he, who passes over part untranslated,

ted (as the Abbot of Tellemont does, not only words, but Sentences and intire passages in this very Life) but he who adds (as the ancient and better French Interpreter Amyot doth) leaveth the Reader at a loss for Plutarch in Plutarch; The one by not exhibiting himself whole and intire to the view, the other, by shewing himself for him; as therefore I have been faithful in giving all Plutarch, so my additions are to be found in a different Letter. I have not loaded the Margent with the various constructions, I suspected my self might be given to some places, as not thinking them of that Import, be the truth which way 'twill. This only I would advertise the Reader that in pag. 658. what I render, something of a Tincture deriv'd to them — the Latin renders *exigua antiquæ Propinquitatis cum iis vincula*. Amyot, no Communication. Tellemont, no Communication nor alliance, taking in both the former Interpretations. But I do not conceive that either of them has reach'd the Authour's meaning: for, if I mistake not, Plutarch alludes to Rome's original deduced from Æneas and the Trojans, who came with him into Italy; from whom not only Romulus descended in a right line, but all the Romans after him were called Æneadæ from Æneas, and twice so called in this very Life. Now, how the Trojans and Grecians had been affected to each other, is a known Story, and Plutarch

tarch from thence takes an handsome occasion to magnifie the Romans, that they who might seem to have *γλίσχον νοινονήματα*, ad verbum, Tenacious Participations: i. e. Something of an Enemies Blood running in their veins, as they are of the Trojan Race, should do such great things for Greece. So that I understand the *παραδόντες* to be Trojan not Grecian Ancestours. Though the Latin Translatur means, I suppose, the latter, with reference to those ancient Colonies of Greeks, which seated themselves in several parts of Italy before Æneas his time, and thence had the Romans and Grecians a remote Relation in Blood one to another. And the meaning must be then, that 'tis a wonder, that the Romans having a small relation to them, should do them a great kindness, &c. Which is neither so High, nor Genuine a Sense, in my mind as the former.

F I N I S

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